



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



3 3433 06184371 4



A  
Le Nove









THE  
**LIVES**  
 AND  
**CHARACTERS**  
 OF THE  
*Most Illustrious Persons*  
**BRITISH and FOREIGN,**  
**Who Died in the Year 1714.**

By VIZ.

The Duke of *Hamilton*.  
 The Duke of *Leeds*.  
 The Earl of *Godolphin*.  
 The Earl of *Renelaugh*.  
 Earl *Rivers*.  
 The Lord *Mohun*.

Lieut. General *Wood*.  
 Arthur *Manwaring*, Esq;  
 Mr. *Richard Cromwell*.  
 The *Dauphin*.  
 The Duke of *Vendosme*.  
 The *Marschal de Catinat*.

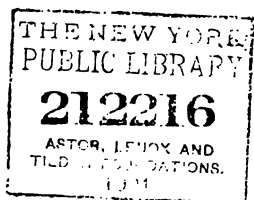
The whole Interspersed with many *Secret Memoirs*,  
 Concerning their Respective *Families*.

ALSO

Some Particular Circumstances relating to the Duel  
 between Duke HAMILTON, and the Lord MOHUN;  
 now first made Publick.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *S. Holt*, for *Andrew Bell*, in *Cornhill*,  
*E. Curll* and *J. Pemberton*, in *Fleet-street*, 1714.  
 Price 6s.





T H E  
P R E F A C E.



*I* has been objected,  
that I have taken  
up too much Room,  
and been too Tedi-  
ous in my preceding Volume, in  
citing the Genealogies and A-  
ctions of the Predecessors and  
Collateral Relations of those  
eminent Persons who Died in  
the Year 1711, and that I have  
been too short in my Memoirs  
of those, who were the proper  
Subjects, and to whose Lives I

A 2      ought

## The Preface.

ought principally to have confined my Inquiries. I shall not pretend to excuse my self by needless Apologies, the best way is to lay hold of the first Opportunity to redress the Grievance and therefore I can assure the Reader, that I have studied not only to pitch upon those Lives, which would afford the most and the best Materials, but made no more Excursions of the former Kind, than such as are absolutely necessary, and purely introductory to them.

From among the Foreigners I have made choice but of a few in Proportion to the rest at the Head of whom I have placed the Dauphin, a Prince

## The Preface.

of a different Mould, in some respects, from his Ancestors; and from whom, had he lived to ascend the Gallican Throne, some Changes were expected for the better, both in Church and State: I shall not name the rest by way of Anticipation, only that the Year, having also proved fatal to Two of the greatest, if I may not say, the very best Generals, France has produced in the last Century; their Conduct both in the Field of War, and in the Cabinet, I have endeavoured to represent in their native Colours, without any regard had to them, as Friends or Enemies.

A 3

But



## The Preface.

half a Century after, a living Instance of the Unstability of all earthly Grandeur, and in such a State of Obscurity, as if, by some unaccountable Metamorphosis, the Prince was transformed into a Peasant.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

**T**HE Lives and Characters of the most Illustrious Persons, British and Foreign, who Died in the Year 1711. Viz. The Dukes of Newcastle, Rutland, Bedford, Dover. The Earls of Bolingbroke, Rochester, Jersey, Bath. The Lords Craven, and Willoughby of Brooke. Anthony Henley, Esq; Mr. Dodwel. The Emperor Joseph, The Mareschal Boufflers, The Marquis Leganez, &c. Printed for A. Bell in Cornhill, E. Carll and J. Pemberton, in Fleet Street. Price 6s.

MEMOIRS

## The Preface.

unhappily misrepresented any of them, I desire it may be believed, that it proceeds either for want of better Information, tho' I have laboured to get the best I could; or from an Error of Judgment, and not of the Will, for which, I hope, their surviving Friends will forgive me.

I thought it might not be un-entertaining to insert among these Memoirs all that I could learn and observe, concerning that unhappy Person, who was once at the very Head of Affairs in these Nations; from which Eminence and envied Height he was soon tumbled down, and continued, for above  
half

## The Preface.

half a Century after, a living Instance of the Unstability of all earthly Grandeur, and in such a State of Obscurity, as if, by some unaccountable Metamorphosis, the Prince was transformed into a Peasant.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Lives and Characters of the most Illustrious Persons, British and Foreign, who Died in the Year 1712. Viz. The Dukes of Newcastle, Rutland, Bedford, Dover. The Earls of Bolingbroke, Rochester, Jersey, Bath. The Lords Craven, and Willoughby of Brooke. Anthony Henley, Esq; Mr. Dodwel. The Emperor Joseph, The Mareschal Boufflers, The Marquis Leganez, &c. Printed for A. Bell in Cornhill, E. Carll and J. Pemberton, in Fleetstreet. Price 6s.

MEMOIRS



# MEMOIRS

OF

## LEWIS XVI.

### Dauphin of *France*.



**L**EWIS XVI. Dauphin of *Dauphiné* France, the Son of *Lewis XV.* birth Dauphin, and of *Maria Anna* 1684. *Christina*, Sister to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, was born on the 6th of *August* in the Year 1684, and *Lewis XIV.* his Grandfather, presently conferr'd upon him the Title of Duke of *Burgundy*; the novelty of *Styled D.* which will serve as a just Apology for us of *Bur-* to look back and make some Inquiry into gundy. the Origin, Scituation and State of that Dutchy, and how this Title came now to be revived in the House of *Bourbon*.

*A Digression concerning the Duchy of Burgundy.*

*Its Boundaries.*

*Inhabitants.*

*Erected into a Duchy, 890.*

*1001.*

The Dukedom of *Burgundy* has on the East the *Franche County*, and some part of *Savoy*; on the West the *Bourbonnois*, on the North *Champaign*, on the South *La Bresse*, *Lionois*, and some part of *Beau-joulois*: A Province so well water'd with pleasant and profitable Rivers, that as Queen *Catharine de Medicis* was wont to say of *France*, *That it had more fair Rivers than all Europe*; so it may be said of this County, that it has more fine Rivers than all *France*, tho' generally the Country is less fruitful than the rest of *France*.

The ancient Inhabitants of this Country were the *Hedui*, one of the most Potent Nations of all *Gaul*, who calling in the *Romans* to aid them in their Quarrels against the *Sequani* and *Auverni*, made them all subject unto *Rome*; in the prosperity whereof they made up the Province of *Lugdunensis Prima*, of which *Lions* was the Metropolis. Afterwards in the Division of the *French Kingdom* of *Burgundy* by *Charles the Bald*, this part thereof being called the Dukedom of *Burgundy*, on this side the *Soame*, was cantoned into the five Earldoms of *Dijon*, *Chaalons*, *Autun*, *Lions* and *Mascon*; whereof the three first put together by *Eudes King of France*, during the Minority of *Charles the Simple*, were given unto his Brother, both Sons of *Robert Earl of Anjou*, under the Style and Title of Duke of *Burgundy*: The Issue of this *Robert* failing, it fell to another *Robert*, the Son of *Hugh Capet*, King of *France*, in the Year 1001. And the Male Issue of that Line also becoming extinct, it devolved (partly by Escheat

cheat for want of Heirs Male, and partly in the Right and Title of the Heir several) to King *John of France*, the Son of *Philip de Valois*, and of *Joan* his Wife, one of the Daughters of *Robert the Third*; who, with the Consent of *Charles* his eldest Son, surnam'd the *Wise*, gave it in 1363 to his second Son *Philip* (more worthily surnamed the *Hardy*) together with the Marriage of the Heir of *Flanders*, *Artois* and the County of *Burgundy*, whose Name was *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Lewis de Malain*.

*John*, surnamed the *Proud*, the Son of *Philip*, succeeded him in all these Dominions, whose Son *Philip III.* surnamed the *Good*, in 1416 was his Successor; who added most of the *Netherlands* to his Territories, and he was the Father of *Charles the Warlike*, Count of *Charolois*, and upon his Father's decease in 1467, became Duke of *Burgundy*; after whose Death, he being slain at *Nancy* in 1476, by the *Switzers*, *Lewis XI.* of *France* seized upon this Dutchy, pretending an Escheat thereof for want of Heirs Male, and so united it for ever to the Crown of *France*.

Nevertheless *Charles* his only Daughter and Heir, *Mary* still retain'd the Title of Dutches of *Burgundy*, tho' she had only the Possession of the County of *Burgundy*, which has *County of Burgundy*. *Mount Jour* on the East, that parts it from *Switzerland*; the Dutchy of *Burgundy* on the West, from which it is divided by the *It Bour-Soasne*; a branch of *Mount Vauge* on the North, which runs betwixt it and *Lorain*; and *la Bresse* on the South.

Let us now return to *Marie*, Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, who marrying *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, Son of the Emperor *Frederick* III. and after his deceaſe Emperor himſelf; their Son *Philip*, King of *Caſtile*, in Right of his Wife *Joan*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, King and Queen of *Caſtile*, &c. became Duke of *Burgundy* in 1482, and being ſucceeded therein by his Son the Emperor *Charles* V. his Descendants Kings of *Spain*, viz. *Philip* II, III, and IV. and *Charles* II. retain'd the Poſſeſſion of the Count, and the Title of Dukes of *Burgundy*. But *Lewis* XIV. during the Minority of *Charles* in 1668, poſſeſſing himſelf of this Country, it was reſtor'd by a Treaty; but entring upon it again in 1674, it was abſolutely reſign'd to *France* by the Peace of *Nimeguen*.

It's very remarkable that tho' the *Dutchy* of *Burgundy* had been in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, ever ſince the Death of *Charles* the *Warlike*, Duke of *Burgundy*, which happen'd in 1467, that they never Conſerr'd this Title upon any Body till the birth of this young Prince. However, the *French* King was reſolved, after the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, to have the ſame entirely in his own Power, without any Competition or Concurrency of Title: And therefore finding that *Charles* II. King of *Spain*, notwithstanding the foremention'd Reſignation, uſed ſtill the Title of *Burgundy*, He poſitively inſiſted upon the diſuſe of it, which he obtained by the Mediation of the States General in 1680; the Catholick King, under the ſpecious Pretence of being deſirous to take away all Occaſion that

Title of  
Burgundy  
corrected  
1679.

that might be made use of to disturb the Peace, and from a particular regard he had to the Instances of the States, at length assenting to it.

The Duke as he grew up having a princely Education suitable to his high Birth, his Majesty <sup>Duke of Burgundy</sup> appointed the famous *Francis de Salignac de la Motte Fenelon*, afterwards promoted to the <sup>dy's Preceptor.</sup> Archbishoprick of *Cambray*, to be his Preceptor.——Advancing towards a State of Virility, and having a Household appointed him, some took the Deformity of his Body to be an Indication of the Perverseness of his Mind, and of the Frowardness which sometimes broke out; for which the King, who without doubt has as much of the *fine Gentleman*, as any Prince upon Earth, fail'd not to rebuke him. One Instance may not be amiss in this Place; the Duke having conceived a sudden Displeasure against a Gentleman, who was one of his Domesticks, and suffering his Passion to transport him to that Excess as to strike him; the King was no sooner inform'd of it, but he sent for his Grandson, and having interrogated him about the Fact, he could not deny it; upon which he said, *It by no means became a Prince to strike any Body, it being beneath his high Station and Character, much less ought a Gentleman to be struck by him; and that if he went on to commit such Outrages as these, it was fit he should keep Company with the Chimney Sweepers of Paris; who are generally Savoyards, and reckon'd the most abject and scoundrel Fellows in the City.*



Contract  
of Marriage,  
1696.

The Terms  
of it.

*France* having had Artifice enough to induce the Duke of *Savoy* in 1696, to enter into a separate Treaty with that Crown, and to relinquish his Allies; the third Article was very honourable to the Duke, by which a Contract of Marriage was made between his eldest Daughter the Princess *Maria Adelbeida*, who was then between eleven and twelve Years old, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, then about fourteen; and the Terms, which were these, were very easie and advantageous to his Royal Highness, viz. that in the Contract, which should be consider'd as an essential part of the Treaty, and wherein the Princess should make the usual Renunciations, with a Promise to pretend to none of his Royal Highness his Estate or Succession; The Duke should give her as a Portion Two hundred thousand Crowns of Gold; towards the payment of which his Royal Highness should give a Discharge for One hundred thousand Crowns of Gold, which remain'd due (by *France* to the House of *Savoy*) as part of the Dutcheß-Royal's Portion, together with the accruing Interest of the said Sum, which was also promised to be paid; and the Remainder, viz. One hundred thousand more, which the Duke should pay to *France*, to make up the Portion aforesaid, the King did remit, in Consideration of the present Treaty. His Royal Highness engaging moreover, to give to the Princess his Daughter, at the Celebration of the Marriage, that which in the Language of *Piedmont* is call'd *Fardel*, and in *French* the *Bundle*, or Marriage-Present for

*Dauphin of France.*

7

for Cloaths ; and in the Contract of Marriage the Dowry should be agreed upon, which the King would give, according to the Custom of *France*.

It's not very material to know the exact time of their Cohabitting as Man and Wife, the first Fruits of it we find was produc'd on the 28th of *June* 1704, when the Dutchess of *Burgundy* was brought to Bed of a Prince, for which great Rejoycings were made ; and the King was so well pleas'd, that in his Letter to the Cardinal *de Noailles* to sing *Te Deum*, he express'd himself to this effect : That the new and singular Blessing God had been pleas'd to bestow on his Reign, in the Birth of a Prince which his Grandaughter the Dutchess of *Burgundy* had given to *France*, was one of the most visible Marks he had receiv'd of his Protection : That he was the more sensible of it, because the like had never happen'd to any of the Kings his Predecessors ; and because it perpetuated the Happiness of his Dominions, by securing to them so long a Train and Succession of Kings.

The King, soon after the Birth of the young Prince, was pleas'd to confer on him the Title of Duke of *Bretagne* : Many were the Devices and Motto's made at the publick Rejoycings, more particularly the pompous Inscription in Gold Letters over the chief Front of the triumphal Arch at *Paris* was this ;

*Has a Son  
born 1704.*

*He is en-  
titled D.  
Many of Bre-  
tagne.*

# Memoirs of Lewis XVI.

*Ludovicus Britanniae Dux,  
Ludovici Burgundiae Ducis Filius,  
Ludovici Delphini Nepos,  
Ludovici Magni Pronepos :  
Natus VII. Kal. Jul. Ann. MDCCIV.  
Plaudentibus Galliae & Hispaniae Populis,  
Perpetuam ubique Imperii auspicatur  
Felicitem.*

That is, *Lewis*, Duke of *Bretagne*, Son of *Lewis*, Duke of *Burgundy*, Grandson of *Lewis* the Dauphin, Great Grandson of *Lewis* the Great ; born the 25th of *June* 1704, to the Joy of *France* and *Spain*, his Birth presaging perpetual Felicity to both Empires.

*Duke of  
Bretagne's  
Death,  
1705.*

*Another  
Prince  
born 1707.*

Now this Title of Duke of *Bretagne*, which had lain dormant for about 220 Years, being reviv'd in the Person of this young Prince, great Rejoycings were made for the Birth of the Great Grandson of *France* ; but the Dauphin and Dauphiness, and even the whole Kingdom, were not a little mortified with the Death of that young Prince, which happen'd on the 13th of *June* 1705, at the Age of nine Months and nineteen Days : However, they were, about a Year and an half after this, viz. *January* 1707, comforted with the Birth of another Prince, who had also the Title of Duke of *Bretagne*, of whom nothing more can be said, but that he died on the 8th of *March* 1712, at the Age of five Years and about two Months.

*Duke of  
Anjou  
born 1701.*

But before this Loss besel the House of *Bourbon*, the Dutchess brought forth another Son in the beginning of the Month of *February*

bruary 1711, on whom the King was pleas'd to confer the Title of Duke of *Anjou*, and he is at this time Dauphin of *France*.

The Duke of *Burgundy* two Years before, viz. in 1708, made the Campaign in *Flanders*, together with his Brother the Duke of *Berry*, under whom Commanded the Duke of *Vendosme*: They had a very numerous Army; the beginning of the Campaign was very favourable to the Fame and Reputation of his Highness, being he had the good Fortune to surprize *Ghent* and *Bruges*; after which they form'd the Siege of *Audenard*; but the approach of the Confederate Army made them draw off in the Night of the 5th of *July*, and pass over the *Dender* with the utmost Expedition, to prevent the Allies from falling upon them next Morning; so that the latter encamping at *Ajsche*, where Prince *Eugene* join'd them, a Resolution was formed to attack them: The Princes did all they could to retire within their Lines, but the Allies made so great and expeditious Marches, that they engag'd them on the 11th, gain'd a most glorious Victory, than which, if Night had not come on, nothing would have been compleater. The *French* retir'd in very great Confusion towards *Ghent*; the Allies immediately demolish'd their Lines, made the glorious Conquest of *Lisle*, recover'd *Ghent* and *Bruges*, made the Duke of *Burgundy* go home in Discontent; and indeed perform'd every thing that the bravest and wisest Generals, and the stoutest Soldiers in the World could do.

Makes the Campaign 1708.

Defeated at Audenard.

The

The 14th of *April* 1711, set the Duke of *Burgundy* one degree nearer the Throne of *France*; that Day putting a period to the Life of his Father the Dauphin; in whose Life time, as well as now, it was generally thought the Son had a great Inclination to Peace with the Allies, upon more Disadvantageous Terms to *France* than are since likely to be put upon her. The King present gave him the Title and Preheminences of Dauphin, and he was the first Grandson of *France* that ever was so. The King took now a more special Care to instruct him in the Arts of Government, but alas! all his Labours were lost in a few Months time for being seiz'd with a Fever at *Versaille* about the 10th of *February*, he died after eight days Sickness, in the 30th Year of his Age; his Dauphiness having given way to her Fate six Days before: Both their Hearts were carried to *Val de Grace*; and on the 23d of *February* their Corps were convey'd to *St. Denis* in the Manner following. The Bodies of the Dauphin and Dauphiness were placed on a large Funeral Chariot, drawn by eight Horses in Black, and carried to *St. Dennis*. Trappings. The March began by a great Number of Poor, then follow'd the Groom bearing Torches, the Officers of the Household of the Dauphiness on Horseback, the Coaches of the principal Officers, the Coaches of the Masters of the Horse, those of the Duke of *Orleans*, and of the Princesses as chief Mourners, a Brigade of each Troop of the *Mousquetaires*, 50 Light Horse of the Guard, six of the King's Coaches of the Dauphin's Coaches, in which were

the Duke of Orleans, the Dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, the Dutcheſs of *Vendosme*, Mademoiſelle *de Conti*, and Mademoiſelle *de la Roche Sur-yon*, with the Dutcheſs *de Lude*, and divers other Ladies. Theſe Coaches were followed by the King's Body Coach, in which was the Biſhop of *Senlis*, accompany'd by the Biſhops of *Tournay*, *St. Omer* and *Aulun*, the Abbot *Morel* his Maſteſty's Almoner, and the Curate of *Versailles*. Then came the Chariot, preceded by the Heralds at Arms, the Marqueſs *de Dreux*, great Maſter of the Ceremonies, and *M. des Granges*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, ſurrounded by the Footmen of the Dauphin and Dauphineſs, the King's Pages, the Swiſs-Guards, and follow'd by the Hundred Life-Guards and Fifty Gendarmes of the Guard. The Funeral arriv'd at Three in the Morning, entred at the Gate of *St. Honore*, and went out at the Gate of *St. Dennis*. At 7 in the Morning it arriv'd at *St. Dennis*, where the Bp. of *Senlis* deliver'd it to Father *S. Martheſgard*, Prior of the Abbey; then they were carried into Church, and Maſs was celebrated Pontifically by the ſame Prelate: The Bodies were to remain in the open Church till the day of the ſolemn Obſequies; and till then the King's Officers, and thoſe of the Dauphineſs were to give Attendance there, and aſſiſt at the Prayers which were ſaid there without Intermiſſion.

In the mean time the King, who without all doubt was ſenſibly affected with this great Loſs, wrote the following Letter to the Cardinal *de Noailles*, Archbiſhop of *Paris*, on this doleful Occaſion.

French  
King's  
Letter on  
the Dau-  
phin's  
Death.

Couſin

COUSIN,

I Have newly lost, in less than six Days, my Grandson the Dauphin, and my Grand Daughter the Dauphiness, so heavy and unexpected a Blow gives me the greater Affliction; because that Prince had joined to an exemplary Piety all the other Virtues worthy his Rank, and because the Princess his Consort had justly acquir'd and shar'd with him my Affection and Esteem. As this irreparable Loss affects all my People in general, I ought to join my Prayers to theirs, to implore of God the Repose of their Souls, and the Consolation I stand in need of in my Grief. Wherefore I write you this Letter, to command you, that as soon as you receive it, you cause publick Prayers to be made throughout your Diocess; and assuring my self that you will give on this Occasion Instances of your ordinary Piety, I beg of God to have you, Cousin, in his holy and safe keeping. Sign'd,

*Written at Marli, the  
19th of Feb. 1712.*

*LOUIS, &c.*

The Archbishop, on receipt hereof, publish'd the following Ordinance, enjoying publick Prayers for the Repose of the Souls of the Dauphin and Dauphiness.

*Arch-  
bishop's  
Ordinance  
upon it.*

LEWIS Anthony de Noailles, &c. To all the faithful of our Diocess, Greeting and Benediction. We had Ground to hope that

' that God had entertain'd Thoughts of Good-  
 ' ness and Mercy towards us, he had begun  
 ' to let us hear those comfortable Words  
 ' which he spoke formerly to the Jews after  
 ' having punished them by divers severe  
 ' Chastisements, *For I know the Thoughts that*  
 ' *I think towards you, saith the Lord, Thoughts*  
 ' *of Peace, and not of Evil,* Jerem. 29. 11.  
 ' He has afflicted us like that Nation, be-  
 ' cause we had imitated them in their Infi-  
 ' delity. A long and heavy War, and so  
 ' many other Calamities which he has sent  
 ' upon us, have been the just Punishment of  
 ' our Sins. The Hope of seeing a speedy  
 ' End of them by a Peace, raised our Spirits  
 ' and made us already forget our past Suf-  
 ' ferings. But now a new Affliction is come  
 ' upon us. greater than all the rest, which  
 ' teaches us that his Justice is not yet sa-  
 ' tisfied. That Justice has taken from us  
 ' in less than six Days Monseigneur the Dau-  
 ' phin, and Madam the Dauphiness, one in  
 ' his twenty ninth Year, the other at six  
 ' and twenty. It has torn from us a Prince  
 ' who was all the King's Comfort, and the  
 ' Hopes of the Kingdom ; a Prince of an ele-  
 ' vated Mind, of a Capacity above his Age,  
 ' having an invincible regard to Justice, of  
 ' an indefatigable Diligence, and constant  
 ' Application to the discharge of his Duties ;  
 ' a Prince who joyn'd to his great natural  
 ' Endowments exemplary Piety, pure and  
 ' immoveable Faith, unbounded Charity, ar-  
 ' dent Love for Religion, and many other  
 ' Christian Vertues, which render'd him the  
 ' worthy Grandson of St. Lewis, and would  
 ' have



' have restor'd his Reign. We have lost at  
 ' the same time the Princess whom God had  
 ' given him for his Consort, and who de-  
 ' served to be so, who was his Happiness  
 ' and Joy, and who by her superior Genius,  
 ' and her noble and generous Heart, gave  
 ' *France* cause to hope for all Good. So  
 ' that the Misfortune is compleat, and the  
 ' Loss irreparable. Let us adore the De-  
 ' crees of Providence, let us kiss the Hand  
 ' that strikes us, and let us fulfil all the Du-  
 ' ties which Religion requires from us on  
 ' this fatal Occasion. Let us implore of the  
 ' Father of Mercies eternal Repose for those  
 ' two Souls which he has called to him in  
 ' the midst of their Days. Let us beg of  
 ' the God of all Consolation to give Relief  
 ' to the King, and let us earnestly beseech  
 ' him to add to his Days those which he  
 ' has taken from the Prince and Princess,  
 ' whom we lament: Never was the King's  
 ' Preservation more necessary, never conse-  
 ' quently were we oblig'd to do more to  
 ' obtain it: Let us redouble our Vows and  
 ' Prayers, and let us supplicate, without cea-  
 ' sing, him who has in his Hands Life and  
 ' Death to continue long to us a Life and  
 ' Health so precious to the State, so neces-  
 ' sary to Religion, and so dear to all good  
 ' *Frenchmen*. But let us likewise deplore our  
 ' own Condition, let us lament our Ingrati-  
 ' tude towards God, and all the Iniquities  
 ' which force him to treat us with so much  
 ' Rigour; let us call back his Mercy by a  
 ' sincere Conversion, and a real change of  
 ' our Manners, let us watch continually, ac-  
 ' cording

‘ cording to the Advice of the Saviour of  
 ‘ the World so oft repeated in the Gospel,  
 ‘ and let us keep always ready to appear  
 ‘ before him; for since Death hath so little  
 ‘ Regard for such exalted and awful Heads,  
 ‘ what can we expect? If the Cedars of  
 ‘ *Lebanon* be thus laid low in a Moment,  
 ‘ what will become of the Brambles?  
 ‘ For these Causes, we appoint, &c.

The Death of the Dauphin indeed put  
*France* in general under a great Consterna-  
 tion, and People began to entertain fright-  
 ful Ideas of a Minority; but especially the  
 Ministry, who had been the chief Instruments  
 of the Severities of the present Reign, and  
 the following Epigram relating to that Sub-  
 ject is not unworthy to be inserted here.

*Post præmatura Delphini filii ac Nepotis fu-  
 nera.*

LUDOVICO Magno.

*Bis tibi dum fato rapitur Delphinus acerbo,*

*Gallia, te extincto, Regna Minora timet.*

*Sed cum tu Regum, Lodoix, sis Maximus, ille*

*Qui tibi succedet, debuit esse minor.*

Some time after this was publish'd the  
 following Epitaph upon the Dauphin and <sup>*Epitaph*</sup>  
 Dauphiness, who died within six Days <sup>*on the*</sup>  
 one of the other as aforesaid, and were in- <sup>*Dauphin*</sup>  
 terr'd together. <sup>*and Dau-*</sup>  
*phinefs.*

The EPITAPH.

*Hic quos æterno deslebit Gallia luctu*

*Conjugis atque Viri pulvis & umbra jacet.*

*His*

## Memoirs of Lewis XVI.

*His idem tumulus, quibus unum pectus amore,  
 Ereptis morbo præcipitique nece.  
 O crudele nimis Fatum ! media cecidere juventa  
 Nostraq; cum illis, beu ! gaudia spesq; cadunt ;  
 Hos inimica rapit sors quos magna Regna ma-  
 nebant ;  
 Imperio meritis major uterque suis.  
 Hac Delphina fuit virtute & Sanguine clara,  
 Hic Delphinus amor Gentis & omne decus.  
 Abstulit hunc nobis florentibus Atropos annis,  
 Lilia quem optabant gloria nostra ruit.  
 Huic nunquam fuerat neque par pietate futurus  
 Hunc Musa studiis instituere suis.  
 Hunc mors invidit Regem, invidisset & orbis,  
 Lulibus huic nostris vita perennis erit.*

**Character.** His Character some Years ago was this in a few Words, That he had a Saturnine, Grave, Spfenetick Air, was of a violent Temper, and of so extraordinary a Vivacity, that few Persons could satisfy him ; that he was very Proud, and his Pride often ill plac'd.

*Dauphin  
 suspected  
 of Jansen-  
 ism.*

Its beyond all Dispute, that this Prince was very much suspected in France for a favourer of *Jansenism*, which, in the Opinion of many, accelerated his Death ; and that upon his Accession to the Throne he would effectually put in Execution a Design form'd before of new modelling the *Gallican Church*, into which the Mass was to be introduc'd in *French*, the Bible used in the same Language, some Things, such as the real Presence, auricular Confession, use of Images, &c. left indifferent : Nay, some proceeded so far as to affirm, the Scheme extended to the setting up of a Patriarch in  
*France,*

France, and that their religious Houses were *That he*  
 to run the same Fate as those in *England would*  
 lid in the Reign of *Henry VIII. make In-*  
 half this to be true, 'tis no wonder this *novations*  
 Prince should go off this earthly Stage in *Church.*  
 the flower of his Age.

As the *Jansenists* expected this Prince would *Also in*  
 have made a Reformation in the Church, *the State.*  
 others hoped for no less from him in re-  
 ference to the State; and their Hopes mount-  
 ed so high that he would restore the People  
 to their Liberties. These they also ground-  
 ed upon the Principles imbibed into him  
 from the most excellent Author of the *Ad-*  
*ventures of Telemachus the Son of Ulysses :*  
 To corroborate their Sentiments concern-  
 ing the Disposition of the Prince, they cal-  
 led now to mind the Discourse that passed  
 between his Grandfather and him, upon the  
 Disgrace of the Archbishop of *Cambray ; Dialogue*  
 particularly his Majesty commanding him to *between*  
 part with any Books he had of the Arch- *the King,*  
 bishop's Composing, the Duke answer'd, *and him*  
*He alone could not do it :* *Why ?* said the King, the Duke *Arch-*  
 reply'd, *Because I have them all in my Head :* *Bishop of*  
 upon which the King rejoin'd, *Then you must* *Cambray's*  
*endeavour to forget them as soon as you can.* *Works.*



MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
Family of *OSBORNE*,  
And more particularly of the  
L I F E  
O F  
*T H O M A S*,  
Duke of *LEEDS*,  
Sometime Lord High Treasurer  
of *England*.

Sir Edw.  
Osborne  
Ed. May-  
or, 1583.



HE Founder of this Family was a Citizen and Cloth-worker of *London*, *Edward Osborne*, the Son of *Richard Osborne* of *Ashford* in the County of *Kent*; which *Edward* improving in Trade and Buſineſs, came to acquire

quire a considerable Fortune; but what contributed most to his Advancement, if Tradition be true, was the following Accident: Sir *William Huet*, Lord Mayor of *London*, in the first of *Queen Elizabeth*, had an only Daughter, who being in great Peril of Drowning, *Osborne*, then a young Man, had the good fortune, by venturing his own Life, to save both hers and his; in gratitude of which she afterwards married him, and by the Accession of her Fortune, he became Lord Mayor himself in the 28th of the same Queen's Reign. Part of this Fortune I take to have been *Wales* in *Yorkshire*, sometime the Possession of *Edmund Huet*, the Father of Sir *William Huet*, and the Grandfather of this Lady; who, by Sir *Edward Osborne*, became the Mother of *Huet Osborne*, Esq; who addicting himself to a Military Life, received the Honour of Knighthood in *Ireland*, *Sir Huet* from that great, but unfortunate Subject, *Robert Devereux*, Earl of *Essex*, then Lord Deputy of that Kingdom, and was some time after unhappily slain there, fighting valiantly at the head of the Troops against the Rebels.

Sir *Huet Osborne* was the Father of Sir *Edward Osborne*, Kt. and Bar. of *Kiveton*, *vulgo Osborne*; *Keeton*, in the County of *York*; which last Bar. Honour was conferr'd upon him on the 13th of *July*, in the 18th of King *James* the First, *Anno Dom.* 1620. This Sir *Edward* was a Person well vers'd both in the Affairs of Peace and War, being Vice-President of his Majesty King *Charles* 1's. Council for the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, and

Lieutenant General of the Forces raised there for that King's defence, to whom he adher'd with a stedfast Loyalty. He took to Wife *Anne*, the Daughter of *Thomas Walmesley* of *Dunkenbalgh*, in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*, Esq; by *Eleanor* his Wife, Daughter of *Sir John Danvers* of *Dantesey*, in the County of *Wilts*, Kt. by *Elizabeth* his Wife, the eldest of the four Daughters, and Co-heirs of of *John Nevil*, Lord *Latimer*, and by her became the Father of *Sir Thomas Osborne*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*.

Now *Sir Edward Osborne* being Vice-President of the Council of the North aforesaid, and as such residing mostly in the Manor-House of *York*, as they call it, being in reality the King's Palace in that City; the Life of his Son *Thomas*, which we are now about to write, was preserv'd by a very remarkable Providence. *Sir Edward* taking all manner of Care for the Education of his Children, provided Tutors early to teach the *French* Tongue, and other Accomplishments, to this his Son, and his eldest Brother : *Thomas* was so young that he had a Nurse to attend him to the Chamber where his elder Brother was; but setting him down in another Room leading to it, and telling him that he might go by himself, as knowing the way thither : He happen'd to light of a Cat there, which he delighted to play with, and creeping after her to catch her, under a Table in the Room, cover'd over with a Carpet hanging down quite to the Floor; in the mean time there arose a most terrible Storm of Wind, which blowing

*Sir Tho.  
Osborne.*

*His Delicacy  
verance in  
his Youth.*

blowing down the Roof of the Chamber where his Brother was, crush'd him to pieces, the *French* Tutor saving his Life, but not escaping sore Bruises, by hanging by the Window, out of which he happen'd at that juncture to look. The Family being Alarm'd at this Accident, the young Gentleman heard one of them say, *They are both kill'd*; and when a Servant found him out, and was going to hurry him out of the Room, all the Apprehensions he had was the fear of the Rod, and therefore he cry'd, *Do not whip me*. I have heard that his and the Cat's Picture was sometime after order'd to be drawn in one Piece, and that the same is kept still in the Family, in remembrance of so signal a Deliverance.

There is little or nothing memorable concerning him till after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* for which he was exceeding zealous; after which, being in the Commission of the Peace in his Country, he shew'd himself very active to suppress every thing that tended to the Disturbance of the publick Peace, and Establishment of our old Regal Constitution. I have heard a great many Stories of the Manner he was introduced to Court, and by which he ingratiated himself into the Royal Favour; some of them were not the most honourable Methods in the World; but since I am a sincere admirer of Truth, and that I cannot vouch for the Genuineness of them, I shall wholly omit them: Only I'll say that Sir *Thomas* his Rise has been generally ascrib'd to *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, to which undoubted-

*Intro-  
duction to  
Court.*



ly his own Parts, and an opportunity of shewing them in the House of Commons, of which he became a Member pretty early, did not a little contribute.

*Votes against the  
Oxford  
Oath,  
1665.*

How Sir *Thomas* behav'd himself in the House, in respect to the five Mile Act pass'd in the *Oxford* Parliament, I cannot positively determine; but that Act being seconded the same Session by another Bill in the House of Commons, to have impos'd that Oath upon the whole Nation, which they took the opportunity to introduce in the Terms they would have in passing the five Mile Act, my Author says, Providence was very remarkable in the throwing it out; for Mr. *Peregrine Bertie* being newly chosen a Member, was that Morning introduc'd by his Brother the late Earl of *Lindsey*, and his Brother-in-Law Sir *Thomas Osborne*, who all three gave their Votes against that Bill, and the Numbers were so even upon that Division, that their three Votes carried the Question against it.

1667.

*An Enemy  
to the Ld.  
Chancellor  
Clarendon.*

When the Fate of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, who had acted ever since the Restoration as prime Minister of State, drew on, no Body more forward than Sir *Thomas Osborne* to contribute to his Fall: I am confident there were many Gentlemen in that Parliament, who, not out of any Sense of the Chancellor's Guilt, but rather from private Peaks, to please the Court, bent upon his Ruin, or from a Concurrence with the general Vogue and Clamour of the Populace, became his Enemies; whether Sir *Thomas* proceeded upon any of these Considerations, is what I cannot

not determine: I find he was warm upon him about the sale of *Dunkirk*, and in the Debate said, *A great Lord had told him that the Earl of Clarendon had made a Bargain for that Place, three quarters of a Year before it was known.*

Sir Thomas daily improving in favour at *Joyntly* Court, was at first contented with half a *Treasurer* Place, being made *jointly* Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy with Sir Thomas Littleton; *of the Navy* Continuing in this Station for some time, *with Sir Thomas Littleton.* till growing at length weary of a Colleague in a Post so profitable, he had the Address to get rid of him, and to possess himself entirely *Sole Treasurer.* of it. I have heard many Reflections made upon this piece of Conduct in him by some, who I am apt to believe, would not have stuck at the same thing at all, had the Temptation lain before him.

The great Favourites now at Court were the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the Earls of *Arlington* and *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Clifford* of *Chudley*, and the Duke of *Buckingham*. Sir Thomas kept fair with them all, especially *Made a* the last, for the present; and the King, either by the Duke's Recommendation, or *Privy Counsellor,* from his own Observations of Sir Thomas his *1672.* Merit and Capacity, was pleased in the Month of *May* 1672, to order him to be sworn a Member of his most Honourable Privy Council. This was a Step towards obtaining the prime Ministry, but the Lord *Clifford*, for the present stood in the Way, whom the King thought fit, about the end of *November* following, to advance to the Office of Lord High Treasurer of *England*: But that

noble Person being covertly of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, of the Growth of which the Parliament and Nation began now to be Jealous, held the white Staff no longer than *June 1673*, but resigning the same up to his Majesty, he was pleased to deliver it to *Sir Thomas Osborne*.

Made *Ld. Treasurer of England*.

But that he might have Titles of Honour suitable to this great Office, his Majesty, about the same time was pleas'd to create him a Viscount of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, by the Title of Viscount *Osborne of Dumblain*; and by other Letters Patent bearing date at *Westminster*, on the 15th of *August*, 25 *Car. II.* he was farther advanced to the Degrees and Dignities of a Baron and Viscount of *England*, by the Titles of Lord *Osborne of Kiveton*, and Viscount *Latimer*.

Made Viscount *Dumblain*.

Viscount *Latimer*.

Made Earl of *Danby*.

Surrenders his Honour of *Dumblain* in favour of his second Son.

Digression about the Title of *Danby*.

His Lordship being now set at the Head of Affairs in the Kingdom, had in less than the compass of one Year yet greater Honour Conferr'd upon him; for his Majesty, by Letters Patent bearing date on the 27th of *June*, in the 26th Year of his Reign, was pleased to raise him to the Dignity of Earl of *Danby*; So that his eldest Son now bore the Title of Lord *Latimer*; but because he would also have his second Son *Peregrine* have the Dignity of a Lord, he made a Surrender to him of his *Scotch* Honour of Viscount *Dumblain*, with his Majesty's Consent, who thereupon created him Viscount *Osborne of Dumblain*.

I must beg the Reader's Patience for a little while, in observing a few Things concerning this Honour of *Danby*: Its an ancient

ent Castle in the Hundred or Wapentake of *Cleveland*, in the North-Riding of *Yorkshire*, seated near to a large Park, and a goodly Chase of the same Name; it belonged anciently to the Lord *Latimer*, and was sold with other Lands to *Ralph Nevil*, Earl of *Westmoreland*, who immediately gave the same to his Son Sir *George Nevil*, whom King *Henry VI.* not long after summoned to Parliament by the Name of Lord *Latimer*; his Issue Male failing in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and the Estate being divided between his two Daughters and Co-heirs; this Castle and the Lands adjoyning, fell to the share of his Daughter *Mary*, who being married to Sir *John Danvers* of *Wiltshire*, was by him Mother of Sir *Henry Danvers*, created by King *James I.* Lord *Danvers* of *Danby*, and by King *Charles I.* Earl of *Danby*, on the 7th of *February*, in the first Year of his Reign; but dying without Issue in 1643, the Honour lay dormant till now revived and conferred on the Lord Treasurer.

There were as many great and remarkable Occurrences happen'd during the prime Ministry of the Earl, as are to be met with in most of our Histories; and particularly two Negotiations of Marriages, the first of which he was very averse to, and the other he promoted with great Zeal and Vigour; both of them were attended with very singular Events: The Particulars of that of the Duke of *York* being so little known, if we make some short Excursion about it, the Novelty will more than compensate for the Digression.

About

*Proceed-  
ings about  
the Duke  
of York's  
second  
Marriage*

About the Year 1670, it fell out that *Anne*, Dutchess of *York*, departed this Life ; and by those that were Friends to the Duke and the Government, it was thought fit that another should be sought to supply by her fruitfulness, the want of Issue Male, which Providence, to that time, had denied to the Felicity of the Royal House. All concurred in the Profession, that this was necessary, but not every one in their Endeavours to accomplish it : The Accession of Sons like to live, would have made the Duke more considerable than his Enemies wished that he should be ; and Objections were not wanting from many of them that were in place to speak, and in right to be heard in Occasions and Councils of that Nature, against any that seemed proper to his Friends for his Alliance: Some of them, it was said, wanted Fortune; others were not of Quality enough; and there were those who were not bred in the Religion of the Country, which, in some Men, was not easie to digest. At last, the King, says the Earl of *Peterborough*, who negotiated the Matches (who, it were to have been wished, had in more good Things followed his own good Nature, and Judgment) accepted the Proposition made from *Spain*, by Sir *Mark Ogniate*, at that time Agent in *England*, who came out of *Flanders*, of a Marriage and Treaty to that Purpose, with the young Arch-Dutchess of *Inspruck*, which was believ'd would have answer'd all the Objections of Honour, Fortune and Fruitfulness, more than any Princess that had been proposed : This could not apparently be refused

posed by the Ministers, who found the King did himself desire his Brother's Marriage; and that the Duke was resolv'd to have a Wife at any Rate; Therefore the Expedient for its hinderance was, to propose a Creature of their own, one that follow'd the Court, and the favour of it, by Birth a Stranger, not concerned what became of the Succession of *England*, to be sent over in Quality of a Negotiator of this Business: This Man was engaged in this Affair, whom they did manage as they pleased; they made him advance it one Day and retard it in another; and at last he did contribute by his Skill, to so long Delays, that it became apparent, by divers Signs of the Empress's ill Health, that she was not long like to live.

From that time, the Emperor, who thought it just he should provide for his own Happiness in the first Place, began to cast his Thoughts upon this Princess, and his Council, for his satisfaction, as well as for the Interest of his House, by reuniting the Concerns of *Inspruck*, that had been the Appenage of those Arch-Dukes, did wholly give their Approbation of that Conditional Intention, in case of the Empress's Death: So that when the Court of *England* was in expectation of a final Conclusion of this Treaty, the cunning Negotiator did procure the Appearance of it, to stop the Mouths of dissatisfied Men, and the Clamours that would have been upon a Rupture, after a Year's Suspence and chargeable Treaty: So that the Duke being then upon the Sea, immediately

ly after the Engagement of *Sole Bay*, in the last *Dutch War*, the Envoy at *Vienna*, sent word the Treaty was now ended, and there wanted only an Extraordinary Ambassador from the King to come and demand and marry the Arch-dutcheſs, according to the Forms, towards bringing her to *England*, contenting the King in that Affair, and making the Duke happy.

Hereupon his Royal Highneſs, who had long in his Mind pitched upon the Earl of *Peterborow*, to undertake and manage this great Truſt, not only as the firſt Perſon about him, for his Birth and Quality, but as a Man whom he knew could never be corrupted, to act, or omit any thing that might prove contrary to his Inter-eſt or Service, did now declare he ſhould (with the King's leave) be alone employ'd and truſted as Ambassador Extraordinary, in perfecting this Matter, which ſo nearly did concern him.

The Earl did, at that time, attend the Duke in his own Ship, he had been with him the whole Expedition, and was particularly participant of all the Honours and Hazards of that bloody Battel, wherein the noble Earl of *Sandwich* loſt his Life, and ſo many brave Gentlemen on either Party : And from off this Fleet, it was, he commanded the Earl to repair to the King, and to entreat his Order to the Miniſters, for preparing Money, Inſtructions and Inſtruments, that might enable him to proceed on his Journey, in order to bring him home the Princeſs, that had been ſo much deſired.

Upon

Upon his arrival, and first Audience of the King upon this Affair, he found his Majesty not so warm as he did expect; he would not trust the Earl entirely with his Indifference, but let fall some doubtful Words, as if it were to sound, whether he would comply with more Delays; but when he found by the steadiness of his Lordship's Answers, that he did expect an ingenuous proceeding, for his Master's Satisfaction; his Majesty, a little abruptly, broke off the Discourse, and bid him repair to the Ministers, who should have Orders to dispatch him with as much speed as the Preparation would admit.

He addressed himself in the first place *Earl of* to the Lord Treasurer, who, for all his con- *Peterbo-* currence with the Duke to other Ends and *rough ap-* Interests, by which he had gain'd a particu- *plies to* lar share in his Credit and Favour; yet he *the Lord* was certainly no Friend to this, nor wish'd *Treasurer* success to any other Foreign Proceeding; and *about the* did comply with, if not foment the King's *Duke of* Inclination to a further Delay in the Affair. *York's* Whether it was that he would not appear *Match-* to the approaching Parliament, Author of a Match, he thought they were not like to approve, or that he hoped the over-long Delays would weary the Duke, and make him at last content to take up with some Lady, for whom this Lord had a favour in the Court at Home: Certain it is, that he received the Earl's pressing desires for a Dis- *The Trea-* patch, with a colder kind of Moroseness than *surer cold* he could have imagined, and in a way as *in the* did seem to expect from the Earl, an under- *Matter.* standing of something he was not willing plainly to express. The



The Duke seemed to believe the Obstructions proceeded from the Insinuations of another Minister, with whom he had long been out, upon many Accounts ; but he being in most Things Competitor with the Lord Treasurer, was glad to have occasion to justify himself in a thing so tender to the Duke, at the reasonable Cost of the other, and to set the Saddle on the right Horse.

The Account the Earl of *Peterborough* gave to his Highness of these Affairs, brought him with as much haste, as Matters would permit, from the Fleet to the Town ; and when he arrived, the Business was so pressed on his side, that the Ministers were driven to break or comply with his Desires ; But it is most true, that in all the Matters expected from the Treasurer, he was more stiff, and more scarce, than was agreeable to the good Opinion, it was necessary for him to preserve in the Duke's Mind ; and the Earl of *Peterborough* was fain to make use of his Competitor, who had a desire, at that time, to justify himself to the Duke, and had also much Interest with the King, to procure from his Majesty, upon Reasons of publick Honour, more large allowances than the Treasurer would otherwise have made ; who thought to have pinched the Earl, and made his Business uneasy on that part, for not complying with him, in a direct sufferance of those Delays to take place, which might have obstructed the Duke's Marriage in any Foreign part whatsoever.

However,

However, those Difficulties were overcome; Allowances were made for the Earl's Equipage, and provision of Money design'd for the maintenance of the Ambassy; Orders were given for Commissions and Instructions; and after the Earl had served his Majesty, and raised for him a Regiment of Foot, whereof he was to be Colonel, designed for carrying on the *Dutch War*; his Affairs being all in a readiness for his Ambassy, he did on——of *March*, in the——under the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Emperor, depart from *London* on that Employment, having in his Custody Jewels of his Royal Highness's particular Cabinet, to the value of 20000 *l.* for a Present to the young Arch-Dutchess of *Inspruck*.

The Empress hapning to dye in some time after, the Emperor *Leopold* took the Lady to his own Bed, and the Earl meeting with other Disappointments, both in *Germany* and *France*; the Match with the Princess *Mary* of *Modena* was at last pitch'd upon and concluded, not much to the Lord Treasurer's Satisfaction, who was for the Duke's marrying at Home, and with a Protestant Lady: However, he had acted the Courtier so well in this Affair, that he continued still in very good Esteem with the Duke of *York*, who having a Daughter born on the 28th of *August* 1676, she was baptized by the Name of *Isabella*, her Godmothers were the Dutchess of *Monmouth* and the Countess of *Peterborough*, and the Lord Treasurer stood for Godfather to the Lady.

It.

*Made K<sup>t</sup>.  
of the  
Garter,  
1676.*

It has always been reckon'd a singular mark of the Royal Favour in *England* to all those on whom the Prince has thought fit to confer the noble Order of the Garter, which yet had not been given to the Lord Treasurer ; but *George* Earl of *Bristol* departing this Life on the 20th of *March* 1676-7, his Majesty elected his Lordship, together with *Henry* Duke of *Newcastle*, into that Order, the Ensigns of which he was accordingly invested with him.

*Lord Latimer married.*

The fortunate Scene still lasted, and nothing was yet to be met with in the Course of his prime Ministry, but the Calms of Prosperity : His Children he began to dispose in Marriage to Rich and Powerful Families. His eldest Son, *Edward* Lord *Latimer*, took to Wife *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Simon Bennet* of *Beechampton* in the County of *Buckingham*, Esq; commonly call'd *the Rich Bennet*; the Matches of the rest we may meet with in due time.

*Is for the  
Oath of  
Abhorrence.*

The Air of Courts has generally but too much Influence on Men's Minds to incline them to comply with the Desires of their Masters, many times against their own Judgments and Understandings: The Lord Treasurer, when a private Man, and a Member of the House of Commons, was against the Oath proposed in the Parliament at *Oxford*, as before mentioned ; but now that the famous Test of *Abhorrence* came upon the Stage, he was cagerly and warmly bent upon it.

**Never**

Never was there finer Speeches made in the House of Lords, nor a greater struggle for Liberty than upon this Occasion. Its not our way to enter on any other Particulars than wherein it appears that the Lord Treasurer more immediately concern'd himself, of which we will give an Instance or two, and then proceed to other Matters: It was observed by the Earl of *Bolingbroke* in the Debate, that tho' there was a Proviso put in *to preserve the freedom of Debates and Votes in Parliament, yet the Oath remain'd notwithstanding the Proviso*, upon all Men that should take it, as a Prohibition either by Speech, Writing or Address, to endeavour any Alteration in Religion, Church or State, even upon the Membets of both Houses, otherwise than as they spoke and voted in open Parliaments or Committees: The Earl was seconded by others, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* presently drawing up some Words for preserving the same Rights, Privileges and Freedoms, which Men then enjoy'd by the Law, the Court, Lords and Bishops then shew'd with great plainness what they aim'd at, insomuch that the Duke of *Lauderdale*, tho' under the load of two Addresses, told the Committee, as did also the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and the Lord Treasurer *Danby*, *They intended to prevent Caballing against the Government*: That none should presume to talk about State Affairs but themselves, out of the two Houses of Parliament; and when they could not answer what was strenuously urged against them, 'twas said they turn'd it off with silly jests,

D

and

*His Conn:  
duct in  
this Re:  
spect.*

*Memoirs of the Family of*

and awkward Raillery, and at last had course to the Question.

When they came to Debate the last part of the Oath, *I do swear that I will at any time endeavour the Alteration of Government in Church or State*; and the L. Gray of Rolleston, after many fine Speeches had been made offering for an Expedient these Words to be added, *by Force or Fraud* and then it would have run thus, *I do swear not to endeavour by Force or Fraud to alter* This Cure seem'd as if it would have satisfied the whole House, the Duke of Devonshire and the Bishop of Rochester both seconded it: But the Lord Treasurer, who had privately before consented to it, speaking against it, gave the Word and Sign to that Party, and it being put to the Question, the major Vote answered the Arguments.

To conclude this Affair, the Debate lasted seventeen whole Days; the House, during that time sat often till Midnight; but the Opposition the Bill met with, and a Dispute about Privileges arising between the two Houses, were the occasion that the Lord Treasurer and others who were for the Bill took so little Care of it afterwards, that it was never reported from the Committee to the House.

*His Management of Members of Parliament.*

As to the Lord Treasurer's Conduct in reference to the House of Commons, his Management of the Members for the Interests of the Court was peculiar to himself, and was not introduced by any of his Predecessors when he had a mind to bring over a leading Member of the Country Party,

WO

~~and~~ odious to his Party : So that take  
ve, he gain'd his Point.

e Intimacy between his Lordship and  
*Montague*, our Ambassador in *France*,  
continued for some time, as had also  
Animosity between him and the Duke  
*Buckingham* ; and People cannot be per-  
ed to this Day, but that the Earl was  
ungrateful to his Grace for former  
es, and particularly his Introduction  
urt : Be it as it will, the Duke on his  
was not negligent of his Revenge ; and  
Lord Ambassador *Mountague*, in his *Mr. Mon-*  
r of the 12th of *March* 1678, N. S. *ague's*  
*Paris*, to the Lord Treasurer, writes *Letter ab-*  
*about the*  
*Designs of*  
*the Duke*

Hope, my Lord, you will not think it *of Buck-*  
impertinently officious to you, or ma- *ingham &*  
ous to the Duke of *Buckingham*, if be- *gainst*  
so real as I am in your Concerns, I *him.*  
: you an Account of some Things, which  
n you know, you may make what use  
please There came with me out of Eng-

' did not doubt of ruining you, and be-  
 ' better with the King than ever : And  
 ' order to Ruin you he consulted his Friend  
 ' whether he had best make up with y  
 ' or no ; and that he was advised not  
 ' be Friends with you ; and therefore d  
 ' fired the King, who offered to make y  
 ' Friends, not to do it : Therefore pray I  
 ' not your Generosity or good Nature ev  
 ' prevail upon you enough to trust him  
 ' but be upon your guard, for if ever  
 ' can do you a Mischief he will.

*Writes to*  
*Sir Wm.*  
*Temple*  
*about be-*  
*ing Secre-*  
*tary.*

The Lord Treasurer, I presume,  
 strengthen his Interest in Court, was ne  
 very desirous to have Sir *William Tem*  
 made Secretary of State ; and for this E  
 he wrote Letters by his Son, who was g  
 ing to *Nimeguen*, where Sir *William Tem*  
 was mediating a Peace, to signify the King  
 Pleasure, that he should come over and e  
 ter upon the Secretary's Office, which *M*  
*Henry Coventry* had offered his Majesty  
 lay down, upon the payment of Ten the  
 fund Pounds ; that the King would p  
 down half the Money, and Sir *William*, f  
 the present must lay down the rest : Th  
 his Lordship did not doubt, but the Ki  
 would find the way to ease him of that t  
 Sir *William* immediately writ to his Lor  
 ship to make his Acknowledgments to t  
 King ; but at the same time made his E  
 cuses, that he was not in a Condition  
 lay down that Sum, his Father being st  
 alive, and keeping the Estate of the Fami  
 and desiring that the King's Intentions mig

Id not so ready now to part with it.  
Thus the Matter rested for a time, and *Writes a-*  
*William* was sent again into *Holland a-* *norber*  
the Matter of Peace and War; but *on the*  
ad not tarry'd there long, when the *same Ac-*  
*count.*  
The Treasurer wrote another Letter to  
about the Office of Secretary, in the  
n of Mr. *Còventry*; and with more E-  
a, he says, than he would pretend to de-  
; telling him, among other Things,  
they were fallen into a cruel Disease, and  
need of an able Physician. This, Sir  
*am* says, put him in mind of Dr. *Prujean*,  
greatest of his Profession in his time,  
a certain great Lady came to him in  
Trouble about her Daughter. *Why,*  
*ails she?* Alas, Doctor, I cannot tell;  
he has lost her Humour, her Looks,  
tomach, her Strength consumes every  
so as we fear she cannot live. *Why*  
*u not marry her?* Alas, Doctor, that  
you'd fain do, and have offer'd her as  
a Match as ever she cou'd expect. *Is*  
*no other that you think she wou'd be con-*



*Case is this; your Daughter would marry one Man, and you would have her marry another; in all my Books I find no Remedy for such a Dis-ease as this.*

The Disease indeed was by this time grown desperate in *England*, and the Lord Treasurer's Troubles will come on with winged haste. Sir *William* declined the Office; but before I come to the afflicted State of his Lordship, I must look back a little and take notice of his great Services to this Nation, by being so instrumental in forwarding the Match between the Lady *Mary*. and the Prince of *Orange*, who in September 1677, came into *England*; and the Court being then at *Newmarker*, he hasted thither. The Lord Treasurer and Sir *William Temple* met him on the middle of the Stairs, going up to the King, he whisper'd to them both, and said to the last, that he must desire him to answer for him and the Lord Treasurer one to another; so as that they might from that time enter both into Business and Conversation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance: Which was a wise Strain, considering his Lordship's Credit in Court at that time. The Treasurer shew'd himself very hearty and zealous in this grand Affair, and was ever forward to remove the almost insuperable Difficulties which occur'd, 'till all Things were concluded, and the Marriage happily Consummated. The Jesuit *Orleans*, in his Book call'd *The History of the Revolutions of England*, gives it the following Turn, *That the Duke of York did all he could to obstruct his Daughter's Match with*

*Forwards  
the Match  
between  
the Prince  
of Orange  
and the  
Lady Mary  
1677.*

*Father  
Orleans.*

ONCE, that when he arriv'd at *mar-*  
 in his way th his Bride to *Holland*,  
 wrote to him, *I was desirous that the last Prince's*  
*I do before I go may be thanking you for Letter to*  
*the good Offices you have done me; and in-*  
*ing that we may always have the continuance*  
*in.*  
 gain from *Honslerdyck*, I could not for-  
 writing to repeat the offers of my humble  
 ice, and to assure you of the true Sense I  
 of all the Obligations you have laid upon

he Peace was still agitated in *Holland*, He im-  
 France tampering with the *English* Court parts Mr.  
 come into her Measures about it, Sir Mont-  
 am Temple happening to be one Even- gue's Let-  
 with the Lord Treasurer in his Clofet ter to Sir  
 a Packet came to him from Mr. Mon- William  
 Temple.  
 ; our Ambassador at *Paris*, he let him  
 a knowledge of the Particulars, contain-  
 an account of a large Conference Mon-  
 Louvois had lately had with him, by  
 King his Master's Orders; wherein he  
 esented the Measures they had already  
 for a Peace in *Holland* upon French

jesty was consequently not concern'd: That *Louvois* desired the Ambassador to write this immediately to the Lord Treasurer, and to offer a very considerable Sum for himself, that should be sent over in Money, Jewels, or by Bills, as he should choose: And Mr. *Montague* added, that it was desired that this Affair should be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State. The Lord Treasurer read the Letter to him, and

*His Answer to Sir William upon it.*

Sir William said, *Well, my Lord, what do you say to the Offer?* He answer'd, *That he thought it was the same thing as if it should be made to the King, to have Windsor put into the French Hands, and so he should treat it; and that they had nothing to do but to go on with their Treaty with the Confederates.* But the Dispositions in *Holland* running violently into a Peace, alter'd Measures, and this offer of Money and other Things, concurred to bring his Lordship under such Prosecutions, as he seem'd yet to be very little aware of.

This was the Opinion of a learned, faithful and judicious Memoirist, who represented some time after this the Condition of the Lord Treasurer and another great Courtier to stand thus:—*As for my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain (meaning the Earl of Arlington) I found them two most admirable Emblems of the true, and so much admired felicity, of Ministers of State: The last notwithstanding the greatest Skill of Court, and the best Turns of Wit in particular Conversation that I have known there,*

*Sir Wm. Temple's Sentiments of the Treasurer's Circumstances.*

*and*

and the great Figure he had made some Years before, was now grown out of all Credit and Confidence with the King, the Duke, and Prince of *Orange*, and thereby forc'd to submit himself by Intrigues with the Persons most discontented against the Lord Treasurer's Ministry ; whose Greatness he so much envied, and who was yet at this time in a much worse Condition than himself, tho' not so sensible of it, for he had been very ill with the Parliament, upon the Account of the Transaction with *France* ; which tho' he had not approved, yet he durst not defend himself from the Imputation, for fear of exposing his Master. He was hated by the *French* Ambassador, for endeavouring, as he thought, to engage the King in a War against *France*. He was in danger of being pursued by his Enemies next Parliament, for having, as they pretended, made the Peace, and endeavour'd to stifle the Plot ; and yet I found within a Fortnight after I arriv'd from *Holland*, that he sat very loose with the King his Master, who told me several Reasons of that Change ; whereof one was, his having brought the Business of the Popish Plot into the Parliament, against his absolute Command ; and to compleat the unhappy and envied State of the Chief Minister, the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* and the Earl of *Sunderland* were joined with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the design of his Ruin.

Having

Having mention'd the secret Correspondence with *France*, to procure the King Money for his consent to the Peace, and the ill Terms the Earl was at with the Parliament; we'll be as particular as we can in an Affair of so much Nicety.

Having already hinted at the Earl's Prosecution in Parliament, it will be necessary to look a little back and observe, that the Mystery of the Differences between the Treasurer and Mr. *Montague*, is not likely to be laid fully open in our Histories; and it is still a Secret, which will be buried with some of those that in King *Charles's* Reign made the People of *England* so uneasy and unhappy. It must be own'd by all impartial Men, that the Earl was no more a Friend to *France* than to the Duke of *York*, who was scarce ever a Friend to him; and it is as well known, that the late Duke of *Montague* was as forward as any Body in adhering to that Cause which *France* and her Friends endeavour'd to ruin here, as it had far'd under *Lewis XIV.* Yet that both of those great Men were clear of all unwarrantable Commerce with the *French* Court, to the hazarding our Constitution, and with that our Liberty for ever, is not to be believ'd.

The Author of the *Compleat History of England* has given some Account of this Matter, but so little in favour of the Lord Treasurer, that he thought fit to publish a Volume of original Letters in his own Vindication, with Remarks, and some Particulars in Fact, not mention'd any where else. The Historian

Historian says the Intrigues of the Ministry with the Court of *France*, were another Danger which rais'd the Jealousie of the Commons. This appear'd more especially by a *Message* <sup>from K.</sup> *Message* from the King, on *December* the 19th 1678, deliver'd to the House of Com- <sup>Charles to</sup> mons, *That his Majesty having received Inti-* <sup>the Com-</sup> *mation that his late Ambassador in France,* <sup>mons a-</sup> *about Mr. Mr. Montague, a Member of that House, had* <sup>Montague.</sup> *beld several private Correspondencies with the Pope's Nuncio there, without any Directions or Instructions from his Majesty: His Majesty, to the End he might know the truth of that Matter, had given Orders for seizing of Mr. Montague's Papers. I have been inform'd by a very good Hand, that Mr. Montague having timely notice of the intended Search of his Papers, and that he was to be charg'd with all the Guilt of the French Business; did use his utmost Endeavours to be chosen a Member of Parliament; and accordingly was chose at Northampton, to prevent the Blow that was* <sup>Mr. Mon-</sup> *design'd him. He mov'd in the House, that* <sup>tague</sup> *he had something to communicate of the* <sup>moves the</sup> *last Importance, and desir'd that the Door* <sup>House to</sup> *might be lock'd; which being done, he ac-* <sup>have his</sup> *quainted them, that he had several Papers* <sup>Papers</sup> *in his Custody, relating to some Tran-* <sup>laid before</sup> *sactions in France, which he was apprehen-* <sup>them.</sup> *sive would be taken from him; and he desir'd their Protection, and that they might be immediately sent for, which was done. By this Means the Messengers from Court were prevented, and the Papers were produc'd in the House, agreeable to the Account*

count given in the before-mention'd History in these Words.

Upon which Mr. *Montague*, in his own defence, acquainted the House, that he had in his Custody several Papers, which he conceived might tend very much to the safety of his Majesty's Person and the Kingdom; and accordingly a Box of Writings was sent for and open'd in the House, and two Letters were produc'd and read in the House, subscribed *Danby*: In the first of which, dated *London, 17 Jan. 1677*, is contained as follows; but I take the Contents from the Letter of his Lordship's own pub'ishing, as being the fairest way of proceeding.

Part of  
the Earl's  
Letter to  
Mr. Mon-  
tague,  
Jan. 1677.  
‘ YOUR Intelligence concerning Mr. *Ruvigny* has not been the least of your Favours; and hitherto his Son's Steps have been very suitable to your Information; for Yesterday he came to me with Mr. *Barillon* (having given me his Letters the Day before) and discoursed much upon the Confidence the King hath of the Firmness of ours to him, the good Opinion he hath of me, of the King's Resolution to condescend to any thing that is not infamous to him, for the Satisfaction of our King. How certainly our King may depend upon all Assistances and Supplies from his Master.

This cannot be denied to be a very unlawful Correspondence with the *French* Ministers; and which should not have been known by a good *English* Man, but it should have as soon been discover'd and frustrated. Be it as it will, we must go further than all this

this for the Rise of it ; and perhaps it will be found that the King himself was intirely the Master of this Affair, both in the Contrivance and the Conduct of it ; and that the Guilt of the Treasurer, if any at all, was passive : For some time before this, Mr. *Montague* (afterwards Duke of *Montague*) by King *Charles's* Command, told Mr. *Ruvigny*, then the *French* Minister in *England*, ' That the King thought he had given great Marks of his Sincerity in breaking in upon the Triple Alliance. Again, that while he had been join'd with his Master, he had extremely advanc'd his own Interest, and none of his Majesty's. Monsieur *Ruvigny* reply'd, ' After such great Sums his Master had paid in *England*, it was hard he should be left by a Separate Peace with *Holland*. To this Mr. *Montague* answers, ' As for the Sums of Money, they were not so great as to regret the Payment, that to his knowledge the Crown of *France* paid to the Crown of *Sweden* two Millions and a half for being Neuter ; and that his Majesty, who was so Great and so Powerful a King, had but three Millions for so vast a Fleet and Ten Thousand Men, suffer'd to pass over to the *French* Service.

But to return, the *French* were for the most part ever jealous of the Lord Treasurer ; and we find in another Conference between Mr. *Montague* and *Ruvigny* some time after, the latter asking the other, ' What he should do, for my Lord Treasurer was in the Prince of *Orange's* Interest, and the Ministers turning against *France* ; but that

Mr.



Mr. *Montague* told him. ‘ The best way was  
 ‘ (if his Majesty would accept of it ) to  
 ‘ offer the Continuance of the three Mil-  
 ‘ lions during the War, for in this World  
 ‘ no Body does any thing for Nothing, &c.  
 The *French* Ambassador allow’d the Advice  
 he gave was good, and what his Master was  
 obliged to him for; accordingly he propos’d  
 it to the Court of *France*, and it was con-  
 sented to, only with a Recommendation to  
 to be as good a Husband of the King’s  
 Money as he could; which he negotiated  
 so well, that he got King *Charles* to be con-  
 tent with a Pension of One Hundred Thou-  
 sand Pounds.

Mr. *Montague* being sent to *France* in a  
 second Ambassy, writes thus to King *Charles*  
 in a Letter dated *June* the 21<sup>st</sup>. 1677.

Mr. Mon-  
 tague’s  
 Letter to  
 K Charles  
 about the  
 French  
 Money.

‘ YOUR Majesty may believe me, if  
 ‘ Mr. *Ruvigny* had not manag’d, in  
 ‘ hopes to make his own Fortune by such  
 ‘ a Service; you had Three Hundred Thou-  
 ‘ sand Pistoles a Year, where now you have  
 ‘ but One. I trouble you, Sir, with all  
 ‘ these Particulars, that you may the better  
 ‘ know your own Power and Greatness,  
 ‘ consequently set a greater Value upon it.  
 ‘ I am sure the Greatness of the King of  
 ‘ *France* is supported only by your Majesty’s  
 ‘ Connivance at what he does, and the good  
 ‘ Will Christendom sees you have for him.  
 ‘ Though after-games are hard to play, I  
 ‘ think I understand this Court so well; if  
 ‘ you care to have it done, I am confident  
 ‘ I could get you, by Agreement, a Mil-  
 ‘ lion

‘ lion of Livres a Year to be paid while  
 ‘ the War shall last, and four Millions after  
 ‘ the Peace shall be made ; I mean, Sir, over  
 ‘ and above what you have from *France*  
 ‘ now.

Now Mr. *Montague* was in this Affair so conscious of the guilt of it, that he was afraid any Body should know it but his Master; for in the same Letter he says, ‘ Sir, if you  
 ‘ approve of my Proposition, be pleas’d to  
 ‘ write me five or six Lines, with your Demands and Directions, and I doubt not  
 ‘ but to give you a good Account of it,  
 ‘ since I do not know which of your Ministers you are willing to trust. I have  
 ‘ taken the boldness to give you the Trouble,  
 ‘ and if you trust any, I had rather it were  
 ‘ my Lord Treasurer, because he is the best  
 ‘ Judge of such an Affair ; and except you  
 ‘ shall think it for your Service that he sees  
 ‘ this Letter, I humbly beg my Sister may  
 ‘ see it burnt. The Earl of *Danby* observes justly enough in his Remarks on this Letter, that ’tis plain the Money Affair was transacting with the Lord *Arlington*, before he knew any thing of it, and so much must be own’d ; but how far that excuses his going into it after, I leave others to judge.

While this Business was transacting with Monsieur *Pompe*, and the French Ministers at *Paris* ; Monsieur *Curtain*, then Ambassador from *France* at *London*, had brought King *Charles* to accept of two Millions of Livres ; and it appears that the Lord Treasurer was in the Secret a long while before the above  
 mention’d

mentioned Letter; for Monsieur *Pompone* assur'd Mr. *Montague*, the King had consented to it, *de concert avec le Grand Tresorier*. However 200000 l. Sterling, insisted upon there, was one reason given why it should be so many Pounds, and not Livres, because King Charles had been absolutely the Occasion of the French King's Conquests in Flanders.

It might have been pretended, that this Money was wanted, as the Treasurer said, *For that the King was apprehensive of a Breach with Spain, and was afraid he must be at great Charge about the Western Islands*. A poor Pretence indeed! for after the Peace was to be concluded Mr. *Montague* says in his Letter of the 30th of *August*, *I am confident I can bring on my first Proposition of four Millions after the Peace*. And what follows intimates, that the Treasurer was not averse to the Affair, as is insinuated in those Letters; *I dare flatter my self so much as to believe you will approve the Steps I have already made towards effecting it*.

Having premised this, we come now to the Proceedings in the House of Commons in relation to the Earl: Mr. *Montague* prevented him; the latter, desir'd some Letters from the former might be read in his Justification, which was deny'd him, and will surely be adjudged by all impartial Men a very great Hardship; and there to do his Memory all the Justice that lies in my Power, I shall take out of them what seems to tend to his Lordship's Advantage. The first speaks of Mr. *Ruvigny*, the Son's being sent to England, and tells his Errand by the near relation

*Quotations  
of Letters  
in favour  
of the  
Earl.*

relation he has to my Lady *Vaughan*, who is his Cousin German ; and the particular Friendship which the Father and Son have with Mr. *William Ruffel*, he is to be introduc'd into a great Commerce with the Malecontented Members of Parliament, and insinuate what they shall think fit to cross the Treasurer's Measures at Court. The second is much more in the Earl of *Danby's* favour : *Ruvigny's* chief Errand is to let the King know, that the King of *France* did hope, he was so firm to him as not to be led away by the Grand Treasurer ; he was an ambitious Man ; and to keep himself with the People, would gratifie their Inclinations, by leading his Master into an unreasonable War. That as for Money, if he wanted that, he should have what he would from hence. Again, old *Ruvigny*, that values himself for knowing *England*, has given it them for a Maxim, That they must diminish your Cr dit before they could do any good. 'Tis most certain the Earl of *Danby* was then intirely in the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, tho' perhaps willing to get the Money from *France* besides ; but we shall proceed to Facts.

The second Letter produc'd in the House of Commons against the Earl, was a Letter to Mr. *Montague* from him, dated the 25th of *March* 1678, which is said to be unfairly quoted in the History of *England* ; wherefore I shall take as much of it as relates to my Purpose from his Lordship's own Copy. In case the Conditions of Peace shall be accepted, the King expects to have six

E

Millions

Second  
Letter  
produced  
against  
the Trea-  
surer in  
the House  
of Com-  
mons.

' Millions of Livres a Year for three Years;  
 ' from the time that this Agreement shall  
 ' be sign'd betwixt his Majesty and the  
 ' King of *France*; because it will probably  
 ' be two or three Years before the Parlia-  
 ' ment will be in Humour to give him any  
 ' Supplies after the making any Peace with  
 ' *France*. And the Ambassador here has al-  
 ' ways agreed to that Sum, but not for so  
 ' long a time, and all Care must be taken  
 ' to have this whole Negotiation kept as pri-  
 ' vate as is possible, for fear of giving Of-  
 ' fence at Home; where, for the most part, we  
 ' hear in ten Days after, any thing that is Com-  
 ' municated to the *French* Ministers. I must  
 ' again repeat to you, that whatever you  
 ' write upon this Subject to the Secretary  
 ' (to whom you must not mention a Syl-  
 ' lable of the Money;) you must say only  
 ' as a thing you believe they would Con-  
 ' sent to, if you had Power formally to  
 ' make these Propositions. Pray inform your  
 ' self to the bottom of what is to be ex-  
 ' pected from *France*; and assure them, that  
 ' you believe this will be the last time you  
 ' shall receive any Propositions of a Peace  
 ' if these be rejected (as indeed I believe it  
 ' will) so that you may take your own Mea-  
 ' sures as well as the King's upon it. This  
 ' Letter is written by Order, C. R. And  
 it is very appa<sup>r</sup>ent, that the very dange-  
 rous Consequences of such a Commerce as  
 this made it of absolute Necessity to have  
 such a Warrant from the King; but yet it  
 is not a sufficient Justification for a Minister  
 of State, tho' he truly alledged it was a-  
 gainst

gainst his Opinion. If what is said in a  
Letter of the Treasurer to the Prince of  
Orange, dated six Weeks before this, is more  
for his Lordship's Purpose, 'tis but Justice  
to let it appear at the same time. I  
have reason to believe, that the Pro-  
position about giving *Charlemont*, or some  
other Place for *Tournay*, will be accepted  
in *France*. And I have no less Reason to  
believe, that the making of Peace upon  
that Proposition would be very fatal to  
the Interest of the King my Master. I  
confess I cannot see but that the Conse-  
quences must be ill to your Highness  
also, when the Confederacy shall be there-  
by broken, and we perhaps tied to such  
Conditions as may leave us incapable of  
giving you any Assistance. Besides, the  
Parliament has now voted 25000 Foot,  
and 4000 Horse and Dragoons, and 90  
thail of Men of War; and I am confident  
will not stop them in case our Master will  
go freely into the War; which yet they  
all doubt, and not without Cause. I will  
have no Reserve to your Highness in this  
Matter; and therefore you must know,  
that Mr. *Ruvigny* (who has been here this  
Fortnight) goes on *Monday* to the *French*  
King with this Proposition, and Designs  
to return hither with an Answer the last  
of this Month (our *Stile*) or the 1st or  
second of *March*; and till that time ex-  
pects the King will declare nothing a-  
gainst him, &c. Again, from what I have  
now inform'd your Highness, I will not con-  
sent to any Alterations of the first Propo-

Lord  
Treasurer's Letter  
to the P.  
of Orange.

positions, by my Lord *Feverham*. You see how intirely I trust my self in your Highness's Hands, where I can no more doubt of my own Safety, than I can of your Honour.

Now the Stress that lies upon this is advising to keep to my Lord *Feverham's* Proposals; and as his Lordship said, If the Propositions for a Peace which were presented were not accepted, there should be no motion at all made of the Money. That he believe those Propositions would be rejected; and that therefore Mr. Montague might take own Measures.

The two Letters, one from Mr. Montague and the other from the Lord Treasurer were no sooner read in the House of Commons, but the House immediately resolved That there was sufficient Matter of Impeachment against *Thomas*, Earl of *Dartmouth*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*: And Articles of Impeachment were drawn up and agreed on, *December* the 21st, which were these that follow;

1. That he hath traiterously incroach'd on himself Regal Power, by treating in Matters of Peace and War with Sovereign Princes and Ambassadors; and giving Instructions to his Majesty's Ambassador Abroad, without Communicating the same to the Secretaries of State, and the rest of his Majesty's Council, &c.

2. That he hath traiterously endeavoured to subvert the ancient and well established Form of Government, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical

W

Way of Government : And, the better to effect this his Purpose, he did design the raising of an Army, under pretence of War against the *French* King, and then to continue the same as a Standing Army within this Kingdom, &c.

*Articles  
of Im-  
peachment  
against  
the Treas-  
urer.*

3. That he traiterously intended to alienate the Hearts and Affections of his Majesty's good Subjects from his Royal Person and Government ; and to hinder the meeting of Parliaments, and to deprive his Majesty of their safe and wholesome Counsels, &c.

4. That he is Popishly affected, and hath traiterously concealed, after he had Notice of it, the late horrid Plot or Conspiracy, contriv'd by the Papists against his Majesty's Person and Government ; and hath suppressed the Evidence, and reproachfully discountenanc'd the King's Witnesses in the discovery of it in favour of Popery, &c.

5. That he hath wasted the King's Treasure by issuing out of his Majesty's Exchequer, and several Branches of his Revenue, divers great Sums of Money for unnecessary Pensions, and secret Services to the value of 231602*l.* within two Years, &c.

6. That he hath by indirect Means procured from the King for himself, divers considerable Gifts and Grants of Inheritance of the ancient Revenue of the Crown, contrary to Acts of Parliament.

The Articles being read, it was ordered that they should be ingrossed, and that a Clause of saving Liberty to exhibit any Articles hereafter against him, and that he might be sequestred from Parliament, and

*Impeached  
before the  
Lords.*



committed to safe Custody, be prepared; and that Sir *Henry Capel* should carry up the Articles to the Lords; which he did on the 23d of *December* 1678.

*Proceed-  
ings of the  
Lords up-  
on it.*

The Journal of the Lords shews, that upon the bringing in of the impeachment, the Lord Treasurer desired Copies of all Proceedings concerning the Business, and the Lords then came to a Resolution, That he should not withdraw. That upon the 26th the Lord Treasurer moved for a Copy of his Charge, and that he might not lie long under it. That next day the Lords resolved, That the Lord Treasurer should not now be confined, and ordered that he should have a Copy of the Articles, and bring in his Answer before the 3d of *January*, and that he might have Counsel to assist him.

*Parlia-  
ment dis-  
solved Jan  
24, 1678-9*

The Matter standing thus, upon *Monday* the 30th, the Commons being called to attend the King in the House of Lords, his Majesty said, That it was with great Unwillingness that he came to Prorogue that Parliament; that all of them were Witnesses that he had not been well used. So that this Parliament was prorogued to the 4th of *February*, but dissolved the 24th of *January*.

And thus, says the Author of the History of *England*, ended with Honour to themselves, The long Parliament, which being first call'd and begun the 8th of *May* 1661, had been continued by several Prorogations and Adjournments for seventeen Years, eight Months, and seventeen Days. Many Reflections were made on the prime Reason of their Dissolution;

ution; some resolv'd it into the King's Anger the Commitment and Impeachment of his first Minister, the Lord Treasurer; but Sir *William Temple* is positive, That the Treasurer was, before fallen into the King's Displeasure for bringing the Popish Plot into Parliament, against the King's absolute Command.

*Father Orleans*, already quoted, sets out the Earl's Politicks, in reference to the new Parliament, which was to meet, and the *Father* presentures in these Words; 'The very Orleans first Election, says he, shew'd what was to be expected from that great number of <sup>his Acc-</sup> inveterate Persons that were to meet in <sup>the Earl's</sup> Parliament; and all possible Care was taken that they might not poison the rest. Among other Precautions used to that Purpose, the Earl of *Dunby* advised the King to send away the Duke of *York*, that so the Parliament might have no Cause to Complain, that all proper Measures had not been taken to secure the Reformation against that Prince's Zeal. The Earl was willing to please the Parliament, because they had taken Offence at him: He had received Money to disband Forces, which were still kept up; he had been for the Alliance with *France*, and that was enough to provoke them; he thought he might have amused them by encouraging the Villain *Oats* to bring the Catholicks upon the Stage; but the Artifice failed him.

I shall not stay to scan this Account of the Jesuit, but produce the Earl's own Testimony in respect to the Plot then on foot: which is this; 'As to the Concealment of the Popish Plot, I was so far from concealing it, that the greatest Displeasure King *Charles* ever shew'd against me, was bringing *Titus Oates*'s Information before the Parliament; and I find it written in some of Sir *William Temple*'s Memoirs, that he told me himself, that the King was very Angry with me for it: And that I had given the Parliament a Handle to ruin me, as well as to disturb all his Affairs; and that I would live to repent it. He tells us in another place, 'If the King would have permitted me to have produc'd Mr. *Montague*'s Letters, the Crime of endeavouring to get Money from *France* (if it could be call'd a Crime under the Circumstances aforesaid) would have been laid to Mr. *Montague*'s Charge and not to me, as I told the King when he offer'd me his Pardon; but 'twas answer'd by his Majesty, that I ow'd him more Duty than to expose his and his Ambassadors Letter of private Negotiations betwixt him and the King of *France* and he was sure I would not be guilty of such a perfidious Baseness to him as *Montague* had been. And to obviate some Objections that might be made against his Lordship's not producing such necessary Testimonials of his being passive in this respect, he assures us, 'That he verily believes the King was so apprehensive that

the producing those Letters would have so much heighten'd the ill Humour of that Parliament, that the fear of producing them (which I must have done rather than suffer the Bill of Attainder should pass against me) was one of the Causes of dissolving the Parliament.

Again, as to his Lordship's being Popishly affected and other Matters, let us hear what he says in Vindication of himself many Years after. These are his Words, *Vindicates himself as to his being Popishly affected.*  
 Besides my own Innocence, as to every Article of the Charge laid against me in Parliament, in December 1678. So many both of Lords and Commons who had then voted against me (and particularly the Lord *Ruffel* and Sir *Henry Capell*, who was the Man that carried up that Impeachment to the Lords) have own'd to me their being led to great Mistakes concerning me and that they were sorry for it; and that many others were then undeceived as well as themselves. Besides which, the Malice of my Accusation did so manifestly appear in that Article wherein I was charged to be Popishly affected; that I dare swear there was not one of my Accusers that did then believe that Article against me. He says farther, that the late Duke of *Devonshire* acknowledg'd the same to him a little before the Revolution: And he adds, 'I am confident that Duke, had he been now alive, would have thanked no Body for putting his Prosecution of me amongst the Glorious Actions of his Life.

The Prince of *Orange* had no sooner a true Information of his Lordship's Troubles, but he wrote the following Letter to him from the *Hague*.

*Prince of Orange's Letter to the Earl about his Impeachment, Jan. 13. 1678-9.*

I Am too much your Friend to hear, without the greatest Concern, the Misfortunes into which your Enemies in Parliament are aiming to bring you. I hope you will get through them to your Advantage, and I should find the greatest Pleasures in being able to do you any Services, either on this or any other Occasion that shall lie in my Power. Of all the Accusations that your Enemies could have contriv'd against you, this of being in the *French* Interest has the least pretence to Truth; the contrary of which every Body that knows you cannot but own, if they would speak the Truth. As for my self, I am fully convinc'd of it; and, I think, I speak to my Knowledge, you have at last met with that Misfortune which all honest Men sometimes do, that is, to be falsely accus'd. I will not give you any further Trouble, at a time when you have so much Business on your Hands; and yet I thought my self oblig'd in this Manner to testify the share I bear in every thing that Concerns you, as being, without any Reserve, intirely

*Tours,*

W. H. Prince of Orange.

311

The

The Prince might know or believe what he pleas'd concerning his Lordship's Innocence and Integrity, the Bulk of the People of *England* were otherwise prepossess'd at this time ; and therefore the Earl's Prosecution and Sufferings ended not with the Long Parliament ; but the next reviv'd their Charge against him with more fury than the other. The new Parliamennt met *March* the 6th, <sup>New Parliamnt prosecutes the Earle</sup> and on the 20th resolv'd, that a Message be sent to the Lords to put them in mind of the Impeachment of High Treason exhibited against *Thomas Earl of Danby*, in the Names of the Commons of *England* ; and to desire that he might be committed to safe Custody, resolving that it should be referr'd to the Committee of Secresie to draw up further Articles against him. Two Days after, the King spoke to them in favour of the Earl of *Danby* in the House of Peers, and acquainted them with his being remov'd from the Treasurer's Place ; but the Commons returning to their House, they resolv'd that a Message should be immediately sent to the Lords to remind their Lordships of the last Message sent them from that House, relating to *Thomas Earl of Danby* ; and to demand that he might forthwith be sequestred from Parliament, and committed to safe Custody ; upon which the Lords desired a present Conference with the Com-<sup>D. of Monmouth's</sup> mons, where the Duke of *Monmouth* spoke <sup>Speech as</sup> thus ; *I am commanded by the Lords to acquaint the Com- you, That their Lordships having taken into Con- sideration Matters relating to the Earl of Danby, together with what his Majesty was pleas'd to* <sup>Commit- ting the</sup> *say Earle*

*say upon that Subject, have order'd that a may be brought in, by which Thomas Ear. Danby may be made for ever incapable of ming to his Majesty's Presence; and of all offices and Employments, and of receiving Grants or Gifts from the Crown, and of sitting in the House of Peers. In the mean time King, to screen the Earl, and indeed himself too, as much as possible, from the violence of the Prosecution, granted him a pardon under the Great Seal. It was drawn in Latin, of which here follows the English Version ;*

*Earl of  
Danby's  
Pardon.*

*Charles the Second, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these our Letters Patents shall come, send Greeting : Know ye, that we, for divers good Causes and Considerations, us hitherto especially Moving, have, out of special Favour, certain Knowledge, and in Motion of our own, Pardoned, Remitted and Released to our Well-beloved and Right Trusty Cousin and Counsellor, Thomas Earl of Danby, all and all Manner of Treasures as well High Treason as Misprisions of Treason, Insurrections, Revealing of Counsellors Misprisions, Confederations, Concealments, Neglects, Omissions, Offences, Crimes, Contempts, Misdeeds and Transgressions whatsoever ; by himself alone, or with any other Person or Persons, or by any other or others ; by the Command, Advice, sent, Consent or Procurement of the Thomas Earl of Danby ; Advised, Commanded Attempted, Done, Performed, Concealed and Committed*

mitted or Omitted, before the 17th of February now last past; although the same, or any of them touch, or may touch our Person, or our publick Negotiations whatsoever, or our Transactions with any Ambassadors unto us sent, or for right following our Instructions and Letters to our Ambassadors resident on behalf in foreign Parts beyond the Seas. I also all and singular Accessories to the same, or any of them, altho' the said *Thomas Earl of Danby* be Indicted, Impeached, Appealed, Arrested, Convicted, Adjudged, is Ambassador Condemned, or be, or be Attainted of the Premises, or any of them; and all and every Indictments, Impeachments, Inquisitions, Informations, Judgments to be required, Attainders, Outlawings, Convictions, Penalties of Death, Corporal Punishments, Imprisonments, Forfeitures, Sufferings, together with all other Losses and Penalties whatsoever; for the same, or any of them, or all, and all manner of Suits, Complaints, Impeachments and Proceedings whatsoever, which we, against the *Thomas Earl of Danby*, by reason of the same, or any of them, have had, now have, or hereafter may have, or which our Heirs or Successors in any manner may have hereafter, together with any Suit for breach of our Peace, which to us, our Heirs or Successors against the said *Thomas Earl of Danby*, shall or may belong by reason or occasion of the Premises, of some, or any of them, do for ever indemnifie him. We give grant by these Presents, and 'tis our farther



farther Will and Pleasure, that these our Letters and this our Pardon, Remission and Release therein contained, as to all and singular the things above Pardoned, Remitted and Released, be and shall be Good and Effectual in Law, altho' the Treasons, High Treasons and Misprisions of Treasons, Insurrections, Rebellions, Felonies, Extortions, Oppressions, betraying of Councils, Conspiracies, Concealments, Negligencies, Omissions, Offences, Crimes, Contempts, Misdemeanors and Transgressions aforesaid, be not fully specified. And notwithstanding the Statute of *Richard II.* late of *England* King, in the 13th Year of his Reign made and provided. And notwithstanding the Statute by the Parliament of *Edward III.* late King of *England*, in the 14th Year of his Reign made and provided, or any other Statute, Act or Ordinance to the contrary heretofore published and provided. And moreover; of our abundant Grace, we do strictly command all Judges, Justices, or others whatsoever, that this present Letter, with our general Pardon and general Words, Clauses and Sentences abovesaid, shall be constructed, expounded and adjudged in all our Courts and elsewhere, in the most beneficial, most ample, and most favourable Sense, and for the greatest and firmest Discharge of the aforesaid *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, of and from the Crimes and Offences aforesaid, according to the Purposes, so as if the said Treasons, High Treasons, Misprisions of Treason, Crimes, Offences, Omissions, Contempts, Concealments, Negligence and Transgressions aforesaid;

said, and other the Premises, had been  
 apt, express and special Words, pardon-  
 remitted and released. And that these  
 Letters Patents, Remission and Pardon, with  
 things therein contain'd, in whatsoever  
 Courts, and before whatsoever our Justices,  
 be pleaded and allowed, without any  
 sort of Allowance, any Thing, Cause or  
 Matter whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding.

In witness whereof we have caused  
 these our Letters Patents to be made; wit-  
 nessed by my self at *Westminster*, the 1st Day of  
*Feb*, in the 31th Year of our Reign.

The Earl in his Plea made use of the Sub-  
 stance of this Pardon, and did averr that  
 he said *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, in the  
 Articles named, was the same *Thomas*  
 of *Danby*, in the said Letters Patents  
 Pardon therein then produced, likewise  
 averred, which Pardon he relied upon, and  
 deduced the same in Bar of the said Impeach-  
 ment, and in discharge of the Treasons, &c.  
 humbly pray'd the Judgment of their  
 Honors, that his Majesty's most gracious  
 Pardon afore said might be allowed, and that  
 the vertue thereof he might be discharged  
 from the said Articles of Impeachment, and  
 from every of the Treasons and Crimes  
 therein alledged against him.

The Commons were no sooner inform'd  
 of his Pardon, but they appointed a Com-  
 mittee to inspect the Manner of passing it;

*Sir Francis Winnington* reported from  
 them, that they went first to Secretary  
*Winnington's* Office, and could find no Entry of  
 Pardon there, and the Secretary declar'd

red he knew nothing of the passing it, and that the Earl of *Sunderland* declared he knew nothing of it ; that there was no Memorial of the Pardon at the Office of Signet and Privy Seal ; that the Lord Privy Seal told them, that the Pardon never came to him ; that the Lord Chancellor said, That he neither advised, drew, nor altered one word of the Pardon ; that the Lord Treasurer deliver'd it to him, and that it extended to *Impeachments*, and had these general Words, *Of all Treasons and Crimes whatsoever* ; and the Words, *Omnia & omnimoda Indictamenta, Impetitiones* ; and these other Words, *Licet indictatus vel non indictatus, Impetitius vel non Impetitus*, &c. and it was to extend to the 27th of *February* last, and did bear date the 1st of *March*. That the Lord Chancellor further declared, that the Lord Treasurer desired to have the Pardon pass with all the privacy in the World, because he did not intend to make use of it, but stand upon his Innocence, except false Witnesses came against him ; that he advised the Treasurer to let the Pardon pass the regular Course, and that he answered him, that the King was resolved to have it pass with all privacy ; that the King commanded the Chancellor to bring the Seal to *Whitehall*, and being there, he laid it upon the Table, and the King commanded it to be taken out of the Bag, which he could not hinder ; that the King writ his Name near the top of the Parchment, and then directed to have it seal'd, whereupon the Person that usually carry'd the Purse affixed  
the

Seal, and that he did not at that time  
 k upon himself to have the Custody of  
 Seal, and said it was a *stamp Pardon*  
*Creation.*

The Commons resolv'd upon this Report,  
*emine Contradicente*) That a Message should  
 sent to the Lords to demand Judgment  
 inst the Earl of *Danby*, &c. and that Sir  
*ry Capel* should go with the Message;  
 resolved, That an Address be made to *Commons*  
 King, representing the Irregularity and *represent*  
 gality of the Pardon, and dangerous *the Irre-*  
 sequence of granting Pardons to Persons *regularity*  
 each'd. *of this*  
*Pardon.*

The Lords sent a Message to the Com-  
 is the same Day, 24th, That upon De-  
 e that Morning, they order'd the Gentle-  
 Usher of the Black Rod to take the  
 l of *Danby* into Custody, and to bring  
 to the Bar next Day; and they read  
 Bill the first time for disabling him.

The Commons on the 25th being inform-  
 by a Message from the Lords, that they  
 sent to apprehend the Earl of *Danby*,  
 that he could not be found; they order'd,  
 it a Bill be brought in to summon the  
 l to render himself to Justice, or in de-  
 t to Attaint him; and the Lords that  
 read the Bill for disabling the Earl of  
 by the second time, and committed it.  
 While the Lords went on with their  
 bling Bill (which they turn'd on the  
 into *Banishment*) the Commons did the  
 e with their summoning Bill; and on  
 27th order'd a Clause to be brought  
 or Discovery of all Trusts relating to  
 F him;

him, and that he might be made incapable of being pardon'd but by Act of Parliament.

Then they read the Bill from the Lords for banishing the Earl, and rejected it, and having gone thro' their own Bill, they resolved the Title should be, *An Act for the Attainder of Thomas, Earl of Danby of High Treason*; the Lords passing the Bill with Amendments on the 4th of April, desir'd a Conference with the Commons upon it, which was had; and Sir Francis Winnington reported to the Commons, that the Lord Privy Seal manag'd the Conference, and what he deliver'd was to this Effect; That the Lords chose to deliver back the Bill, by Conference rather than Message, to prevent Debate between them. That the Lords observe the great Affairs of the Nation are at a Stand, at a Time of the greatest Danger. That the King hath always inclined to Clemency to all his Subjects. Therefore they desire the two Houses should not press the King to an Act of the greatest Severity; and have therefore passed the Bill with some Amendments.

*Lord Privy Seal's Speech at the Conference between the Lords and Commons about the Bill of the Earl's Attainder.*

The Commons on the 7th taking the Lords Amendments to the Bill for Attainder of the Earl into Consideration; and disagreeing to several of them, they order'd a Committee to prepare Reasons to be offer'd at a Conference, which were these; That the Addition to the Title, shews the Amendments do, from a Bill of Attainder, convert the Bill into a Bill for Banishment, which the Commons cannot consent to, for these Reasons; 1. That Banishment is not the legal Judgment

*Common's Reasons for disagreeing with the Amendments.*

Judgment in High Treason; and the Earl of *Danby* being impeach'd of Treason, and fled from Justice, hath thereby confess'd the Charge, and ought to have the Judgment of High Treason for his Punishment. 2. That the Earl of *Danby* might make use of this Remission of his Sentence, as an Argument that the Commons were either distrustful of their Proofs, or that the Crimes are not of so high a Nature as Treason. 3. That this Example would encourage others that may be hereafter impeach'd, to withdraw from Justice, and hope to obtain a more favourable Sentence in a Legislative Way, than your Lordships would be oblig'd to pass in your Judicial Capacity. This done they order'd Mr. *Booth* to a Conference with the Lords; and then agreed upon an Address to the King, to this Effect; 'That the Earl of *Danby* standing impeach'd of High Treason; and to obstruct the Execution of Justice, having withdrawn himself. They beseech'd the King to issue a Proclamation to command him to render himself; and to command all Ministers of Justice to use Diligence to apprehend him, and to forbid all Subjects to harbour him; and to require all Officers of his Household to take care that no Person suffer him to conceal himself in any of the King's Palaces.

A Conference being had, Sir *Francis Win-* *Earl of*  
*nington* reported, that the Earl of *Hunting-* *Hunting-*  
*ton* manag'd the Conference to this Effect; *ton's*  
 'The Lotds have desir'd this Conference, *Speech at*  
 'not *the Confe-*  
*rence.*

' not so much to argue and dispute, as  
 ' mitigate and reconcile. ' They obse  
 ' that the Debate of this Bill hath too lo  
 ' obstructed publick Business ; and if a V  
 ' may be found out to satisfie the pub  
 ' Fears, the Lords do not think it adv  
 ' able to insist upon the utmost and n  
 ' rigorous Satisfaction to publick Just  
 ' They acknowledge, that Banishment is  
 ' the legal Judgment in any Case, since  
 ' can never be inflicted but by the L  
 ' slative Authority : But they see no R  
 ' son why the Legislative Authority sho  
 ' always act to the utmost Extent of  
 ' Power ; for there may be a pruden  
 ' Necessity sometimes of making Ab  
 ' ements. And, to remove all Jealous  
 ' the Lords declare, That nothing d  
 ' in this Case shall ever be drawn into  
 ' ample for the time to come. On  
 ' other Hand the Lord Privy Seal on the r  
 ' reported the Effect of a free Conference  
 ' with the Commons, about the Amendm  
 ' to the Bill about the Earl of Danby. T  
 ' Mr. Edward Vaughan urg'd and reinfo  
 ' the Reasons offer'd at a former Confere  
 ' That Reason and Justice being for the Bil  
 ' they sent it up, they could not yet doubt  
 ' the Lords Concurrence. They hop'd that their L  
 ' ships, who are Judges for the Kingdom,  
 ' not only for themselves, will follow the Exa  
 ' of their Ancestors, and proceed by Rules of l  
 ' which are to guide in passing ABs of Parlian  
 ' as well as in the ordinary course of Judicem

Lord Pri-  
 vy Seal  
 reports  
 the Consi-  
 rence to  
 the Lords.  
 10.

Mr.  
 Vaughan's  
 Speech.

that Sir *Francis Winnington* urg'd Prece-  
 s for the like Attainder, Old and New,  
 added these Reasons; 1. For the Lords, *Sir Francis*  
 change the Punishment, when he appears *Winning-*  
 may say, that the Commons agreeing to *ton's*  
 composition, admit their Proofs are not  
 for Treason. 2. Though we thirst not  
 Blood, and might have consented to  
 that gave him not Advantage instead  
 punishment, as this by the Amendments  
 do; yet as it is, we cannot consent  
 that Reason. 3. The Earl punishes him-  
 our Bill is not rigorous, but accord-  
 to the Rules of Justice against a Person  
 ach'd, and dares not abide his Trial.  
 ight is odious in the Eye of the Law.  
 his would shew as if different Degrees  
 persons should have different Degrees  
 justice. Would your Lordships so make  
 sion for a flying Commoner? Besides,  
 is not the flight of an innocent *Moses*  
 the *Egyptians*, but of a wicked *Cain*,  
 of the Sense of his Guilt.

that Mr. *Powle* spoke next, and said, There *Mr.*  
 out two Reasons why Punishment should *Powle's*  
 itigated. 1. When a Man seems peni-  
 whereas this Man affronts the Justice  
 ing and Parliament, and lurks here-  
 s, doing ill Offices, and hindring the  
 Affairs of the Kingdom. 2. When a  
 merits Favour in his Office; but we  
 t find one good Thing he ever did,  
 t he was in Power and Place. That  
*acheverel* added, It is but a Bill of Sum-  
 to keep him from perfecting his Trea- *Mr. Sa-*  
 Abroad, and continuing his Enmity to *cheverel*



his Country ; but as your Lordships have made it, it is an *Act of Indemnity* and Safety to him, giving him leave to go to repair the little Loss he is under here, by the Favour of those beyond-Sea, whom he hath serv'd against his Country.

*Mr. Ed. Vaughan*. Mr. *Vaughan* concluded, saying, That Justice should have its Course, is the prime Consideration : The Earl stops all himself, therefore he should not have Benefit thereby, but ought to find that Justice will be too hard for his Evasions.

The Lord Privy-Seal having thus made Report of the Conference, said, ' So they deliver'd us the Bill again, with our Amendments, with Expression of Hopes, and Desire of our Concurrence with them, that Justice might have its Course, and the great Affairs of Parliament be no longer obstructed, by spending more time on him, who hath brought the Kingdom into so sad a Condition.

In the Afternoon of the same Day, the Lords sent to desire a present free Conference with the Commons ; and agreed to propose to leave out the Time in the Bill for his coming in, and so to make it an immediate Banishment ; and to offer that there might be a Forfeiture of his Estate, and this to be by way of Agreement ; they also order'd, That an Entry should be made in the Journal, that the Vote of the Commons of the 23d of *December 1678*, concerning the Earl of *Danby's* not withdrawing, after he had been heard in his Place upon the Impeachment against him ; and the

Vote

Vote of the 27th of *December* concerning his not being committed, should not be drawn into Precedent for the future.

On the 12th Sir *Francis Winnington* reported the Substance of the Matters propos'd by the Lords at the free Conference, (*viz.*) *Report of a free Conference about the Bill, 12.* The Lord Privy-Seal said, that it was acknowledg'd that the Reasons of the Commons for passing of the Bill, as they propos'd, were unanswerable; and therefore the Lords were content to make the Bill absolute, without giving the Earl of *Danby* any Day to appear, and the Penalties to continue. He observ'd, that he would not only by the passing this Bill be ruin'd, but likewise those Acquisitions which he got by *Lord Pri- Marriage into a Noble Family would be lost. vy Seal's.* And he intimated, that if the Commons would have any other Penalties added, the Lords would leave it to them, so that they run not to his absolute Destruction.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* said, That they *Ld. Shaftsbury's.* were as willing to be rid of the Earl of *Danby* as the Commons: That he thought the Way propos'd would be a Means to have the Bill pass; for the Commons might have other Penalties, if they would, as Confiscation of Estate, and he thought, Honours; and if the Commons insisted thereon, he knew not but they might be agreed to be inserted in the Bill. He desir'd that the Commons would consider that there were weighty Reasons, which are better understood than express'd, that prove it necessary, for the publick Good, that this Bill should speedily pass.

Earl of  
Shaftsbury  
reports  
the free  
Confe-  
rence to  
the Lords,

13.

Lords a-  
gree with  
the Com-  
mons  
about the  
Bill of  
Attainder

14.

The 12th of April in the Afternoon, the Commons, upon their Desire, had a free Conference with the Lords; and it being ended, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* reported, That Sir *Francis Winnington* manag'd that Conference, and told them, that the Methods of the Commons' Proceedings about the Earl of *Danby* had been acknowledg'd to be right and according to the former Precedent and therefore every way justifiable. That their Lordships did declare, that their more cogent Reasons were better to be understood than express'd. That the Commons agreed, that this did occasion long Dispute and that Delay was very prejudicial; and therefore earnestly desir'd that they would agree with them in the Bill, for they adher'd to their former Proceedings.

On the 14th the Lords, after a long Debate, resolv'd to agree with the Commons to the Bill for the Attainder of the Earl *Danby* of High Treason, in case he came not in by a Day prefix'd; and they deliver'd it to the Commons at a Conference. The Commons on their part assenting, the Lords thereupon order'd the Lord Privy-Seal, the Duke of *Monmouth*; the Earl of *Bridgewater* and the Lord *Grey of Werke* to acquaint the King, that the Bill was pass'd both Houses and in respect of the shortness of time limited for the Earl's coming in, that the King would appoint a short time for the tendering the Bill for his Royal Assent. Now the King making answer he would in the House next Day, the Gentleman Usher of the Black-Rod acquainted the Lords

the 16th, that the Earl of *Danby* had ren- *Earl sur-*  
 dred himself into his Custody the last Night; *renders*  
 and he brought him to the Bar, where he *himself,*  
 kneel'd till the Lord Chancellor bid him stand *15.*  
 up; and his Lordship told him, that he  
 stood impeach'd, &c. and had time given  
 him this Parliament to answer; which he  
 had not done, but had withdrawn himself,  
 and caused the Parliament to spend much  
 time concerning him; and demanded what  
 he had to say to this Matter?

To which the Earl making some Answer *Excuses*  
 by way of Excuse for his withdrawing, and *his with-*  
 hoping to clear his Innocence, made several *drawing.*  
 Requests in order to his answering the  
 Charge, and making his Defence upon his  
 Trial: And being withdrawn, the House  
 consider'd his Requests; and being again  
 brought to the Bar, and kneeling, the Chan-  
 cellor did let him know, that he might have  
 a Copy of the Articles against him; and  
 that the House gave him time to put in  
 his Answer, till the first Day of their sitting  
 after Easter; and order'd that Serjeant *Ray-*  
*mond*, Mr. *Saunders*, and Mr. *Holt*, be assign'd  
 Counsel for him as he requested, &c. And  
 as to his last Request, to remain under the  
 Custody of the Black Rod, their Lordships *Order'd to*  
 adjudg'd that he should be committed to *the Tower.*  
 the Tower.

The Earl being brought to the Bar of  
 the House on the 25th, pleaded a Par-  
 don from the King; which was read, and  
 then sent to the House of Commons, who *Pleads the*  
 referred it to a Committee to examine *King's*  
 the Matter of the Plea, and to search how *Pardon,*  
*Precedents* *25.*

Precedents stood in relation to the Pardon, and in what Manner, and by what Means it was obtained.

*Report of the Committee of Commons about the Plea.* Sir Francis Winnington reported on the 28th from the Committee to examine the Earl's Plea, as followeth ; 1. *We find no Precedent that ever any Pardon was granted to any Person impeached by the Commons of Treason.* 2. *The Committee refers to a former Report of the manner of passing this Pardon.* 3. *We cannot as yet discover the Advisers or Promoters of the Pardon.*

The Commons hereupon in a Message desiring the Lords to demand of the Earl, whether he would abide by his Plea, he was brought to the Lords Bar on the 29th, and was told by the Chancellor, That the Commons demanded to know whether he would abide by his Plea ? To which he said, the Question was New to him, and of very great Importance, and therefore he desired time to advise on it ; and their Lordships gave him time till Saturday the 23d of May ; when being brought to the Bar, the Chancellor ask'd him for his Answer ; to which he said,

*E. stands by his Plea.* *The Plea I have put in, was by the Advice of my Counsel, who tell me, that my Pardon is good in Law, and advise me to insist upon my Plea, which I now do, and desire that my Counsel may be heard to make out the Validity of my Pardon, and that Serjeant Barrel and Mr. Pollexfen may be added to the Counsel formerly assigned to me, and they were accordingly assigned his Counsel.*

But

But the Commons on the 5th having resolved, that the Pardon pleaded by the Earl was illegal and void: The Speaker with the Commons went to the Lords Bar, and said, My Lords, The Knights, Citizens and Burgeses in Parliament assembled, are come up to demand Judgment in their own Names, *Commons* and in the Names of all the Commons of *demand* England, against *Judgment* Thomas Earl of Danby, who stands impeach'd by them before your Lordships of High Treason, and divers High *against* Crimes and Misdemeanors, *the Earl at* to which he hath *the Lords* Bar, *5.* pleaded a Pardon, which Pardon the Commons conceive to be illegal and void, and therefore they do demand Judgment of your Lordships accordingly.

The Lords on the 6th order'd, That Saturday the 10th was appointed for the hearing the Earl, to make good his Plea in *Westminster-hall*; and that an Address should be made to his Majesty, to appoint a High Steward for that purpose, and for the Trials of the five Popish Lords in the *Tower*: Upon which they had a Conference on the 8th, and the Lord Privy-Seal reported the Effect thereof, which was, 'That the Commons 'suppos'd the Lords intended in all Proceedings upon Impeachments depending before them, to follow the usual Course 'and Method of Parliament; and they could 'not apprehend what should induce the 'Lords to address for a High-Steward, in 'order to the determining the Validity of 'the Pardon of the Earl of *Danby*, and for 'the Trial of the five Lords, because they 'conceiv'd the Constitution of a High Stew-  
'ard

'ard' was not necessary, but that Judgment might be given in Parliament upon Impeachments without a High Steward. The Commons propos'd that a Committee of both Houses be nominated to consider of the most proper Ways and Methods of Proceeding upon Impeachments, according to usage of Parliament ; that thereby Interruptions and Delays in Proceedings might be avoided.

The Lords, after a long Debate, whether to agree with the Desires of the Commons to have a Committee of both Houses, &c. resolved in the *Negative*. And on the 9th at a Conference, told the Commons, ' That the Lords did not agree to a Committee, ' because they did not think it conformable ' to the Rules and Orders of the Proceedings of that Court, which is, and ever ' must be tender in Matters relating to their ' Judicature.

*Commons*  
*Vote no*  
*Body*  
*should be*  
*of Counsel*  
*for the*  
*Earl, &c.* The Commons, nettled herewith, resolv'd, That no Commoner whatsoever shall presume to maintain the Validity of the Pardon of the Earl of Danby, without leave of the House ; and that the Persons so doing should be accounted Betrayers of the Liberties of the Commons of England ; and that the Answer deliver'd by the Lords that Day, tended to the Interruption of the good Correspondence between the two Houses.

The Earl hereupon petition'd the Lords, that his Counsel durst not appear to argue for him, by reason of a Vote of the Commons, and was thereby totally disabled of making his legal Defence : And the Earl of  
*Salisbury*

*Salisbury* reported the Effect of a Conference with the Commons; That your Lordships do Effect of not offer any Answer or Satisfaction to the Com- the Com- mons in their necessary Proposals, that you do ference intend in all Proceedings upon the Impeachments, with the Commons to follow the usual Course and Methods of Par- reported liaments. by the

And that you have not given the least Answer *Earl of* or Satisfaction, concerning your addressing the *Salisbury*. King for a High Steward.

That your Lordships, (without any Reason assigned, save only that you say, that you do not think it conformable to the Rules and Orders of this Court) have refused to agree in appointing a Committee, though not heretofore denied, when ask'd upon the like Occasions, and at this time desired purposely to avoid Disputes and Delays.

And therefore the Commons desired us to acquaint you, that they cannot proceed to the Tryal of the Lords, before the Method of Proceedings be adjusted between the two Houses.

This done, the Question was put, whether to appoint a Committee to meet a Committee of Commons, to confer about the Methods of Proceedings, in order to the Tryal of the Lords, and resolv'd in the Negative. They had, on the 11th, had two Conferences with the Commons, and did at length order, That a Committee of Lords should meet a Committee of the Commons, to consider of Propositions and Circumstances, in reference to the Trials of the Lords in the *Tower*.

Now the Lords, to throw another Rub in the way of the Commons, and to interrupt this momentous Prosecution, resolv'd on



on the 13th, That the Lords Spiritual have Right to stay in Court in Capital Cases, till Judgment of Death came to be pronounced; and next Day they explain'd the selves, that their meaning was, that the Lords Spiritual had a Right to stay & sit in Court, till the Court proceeded to Vote of Guilty or not Guilty.

On Monday the 26th the Lords have resolv'd to proceed to the Tryals of five Lords in the Tower the Tuesday following, the Commons at a Conference offer'd Narrative and Reasons to their Lordships for not Proceeding to the Tryals of the Lords before the Tryal of the Earl of Danby's Plea, which were to this Effect.

Reasons  
of the  
Commons  
against  
trying the  
five Popish  
Lords be-  
fore the  
Tryal of  
the Earl  
of Danby's  
Plea.

' The Commons acknowledge, that  
' Crimes charg'd on the Earl of Powis, Viscount Stafford, Lord Petre, Lord Arundell, and Lord Bellasis, are of deep Guilt, & call for speedy Justice; but withal, they hold any Change in Judicature in Parliament, without Consent of Parliament, to be of pernicious Consequence, and conceive themselves oblig'd to transmit to Posterity, all the Rights which they have receiv'd from their Ancestors. And minding your Lordships of the Progress between the two Houses, they doubt not but to make it appear, their Aim has been only to preserve that Right, & that there is no delay of Justice on the Parts; and to that End they offer the following Narrative and Reasons.

‘ That the Commons, in bringing the Earl  
‘ of *Danby* to Justice, have labour’d under  
‘ many great Difficulties.

‘ It is known to your Lordships, that  
‘ upon the Impeachment of the Commons  
‘ against the Earl of *Danby*, even the com-  
‘ mon Justice of sequestring him from Par-  
‘ liament, and committing him to Custody,  
‘ was then requir’d by the Commons, and  
‘ deny’d by the Peers, though he then sat  
‘ in the House; of which you have been so  
‘ sensible, that at a Conference the 10th  
‘ of *April* you declar’d, *That it was the Right*  
‘ *of the Commons, that upon an Impeachment a*  
‘ *Peer impeached ought to be ordered to with-*  
‘ *draw, and be committed:* And had not that  
‘ Justice been deny’d, a great part of this  
‘ Session had been sav’d and employ’d for  
‘ Preservation of the King, and the Security  
‘ of the Nation, and in Prosecution of the  
‘ other five Lords; neither had he had the  
‘ Opportunity of procuring that illegal Par-  
‘ don which he hath now pleaded, nor of  
‘ wasting so great a part of the Treasure  
‘ of the Kingdom, as he has done, since the  
‘ Commons exhibited their Articles of Im-  
‘ peachment against him.

‘ After which time thus lost, by the de-  
‘ nial of Justice, the Bill being ready for  
‘ the Royal Assent, the Earl rendred him-  
‘ self, and was committed to the *Tower*, and  
‘ then pleaded the Pardon: Which being  
‘ illegal and void, the Commons demanded  
‘ Judgment against him, not doubting but  
‘ your Lordships did intend to follow the  
‘ usual Course and Proceedings of Parliament.

‘ But

‘ sitting still to go on and Vote in Proceedings upon the Impeachments, that their desire of leave to withdraw, is only an evasive Answer to the said Vote, and intended as an Argument for a Right of Judicature in Proceedings upon Impeachments, and as a Reserve to judge upon the Earl of *Danby*’s Pardon; and upon these and such other Impeachments, altho’ no such Power was ever claimed by their Predecessors, but is utterly denied by the Commons.

‘ The Commons are therefore obliged not to proceed to the Tryal of any of the Lords the 27th Instant, but to adhere to their Vote; and for their so doing, besides what hath been now and formerly said, do offer these Reasons;

‘ 1. Because the Lords have received the Earl of *Danby*’s Pardon with a long and unusual Protestation, wherein he hath aspersed the King, as if he had Commanded or Countenanced the Crimes he stands charged with, and particularly suppressing and discouraging the discovery of the Plot, and endeavouring to introduce a Tyrannical way of Government——and it ought to be the principal Care of both Houses to vindicate the King, by doing Justice upon the said Fail.

‘ 2. The setting up a Pardon to be the Bar of an Impeachment, defeats the whole Use and Effects of Impeachments——therefore this Case ought to be determined before that of the five Lords.

‘ After which the Commons communicated to your Lordships their Vote, that they insisted on the former Vote, That the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in the Proceedings against the Lords, &c. Which Vote extended to the Earl of *Danby* as well as the other five Lords; but the Commons have received no Answer of that Vote, save that the Bishops have asked leave; that they might withdraw from the Tryal of the five Lords, with the liberty of entering their Protestation.

‘ And though the Commons Committee have declared to your Committee, that that was a necessary Point of Right to be settled before the Tryals, and offered to debate it, your Committee always answered, That they had not Power to confer upon, or give answer concerning that Matter.

‘ And yet your Lordships, without giving any Answer to the said Vote, and contrary to the said Agreement, on the 22d of *May* sent a Message, declaring the Lords Spiritual as well as Temporal, had ordered the Tryal of the five Lords the 27th Instant.

‘ So that the Commons apprehend, that you have not only departed from what was agreed on, but conclude from the Message and Vote of the 14th, That the Lords Spiritual have a Right to sit in Court, till the Court proceeds to the Vote of *Guilty*, or *Not Guilty*; and from the Bishops asking leave, &c. and by their per-

⊙

‘ sitting

' sitting still to go on and Vote in Proceed-  
 ' ings upon the Impeachments, that their  
 ' desire of leave to withdraw, is only an  
 ' evasive Answer to the said Vote, and intend-  
 ' ed as an Argument for a Right of Judi-  
 ' cature in Proceedings upon Impeachments,  
 ' and as a Reserve to judge upon the Earl  
 ' of *Danby's* Pardon; and upon these and  
 ' such other Impeachments, altho' no such  
 ' Power was ever claimed by their Prede-  
 ' cessors, but is utterly denied by the  
 ' Commons.

' The Commons are therefore obliged  
 ' not to proceed to the Tryal of any of  
 ' the Lords the 27th Instant, but to adhere  
 ' to their Vote; and for their so doing, be-  
 ' sides what hath been now and formerly  
 ' said, do offer these Reasons;

' 1. Because the Lords have received the  
 ' Earl of *Danby's* Pardon with a long and  
 ' unusual Protestation, wherein he hath as-  
 ' perged the King, as if he had Commanded  
 ' or Countenanced the Crimes he stands  
 ' charged with, and particularly suppressing  
 ' and discouraging the discovery of the Plot,  
 ' and endeavouring to introduce a Tyrannical  
 ' way of Government———and it ought  
 ' to be the principal Care of both Houses  
 ' to vindicate the King, by doing Justice up-  
 ' on the said Fail.

' 2. The setting up a Pardon to be the  
 ' Bar of an Impeachment, defeats the whole  
 ' Use and Effects of Impeachments———  
 ' therefore this Case ought to be determi-  
 ' ned before that of the five Lords.

3. Until the Commons have Right done against this Plea of Pardon, they may justly apprehend, that the whole Justice of the Kingdom, in the Case of the five Lords, may be defeated by Pardons of the like Nature.

4. An Impeachment is virtually the Voice of every particular Subject, crying against an Oppression; and it would prove a Matter of ill Consequence, that the Universality of the People, should have an occasion ministred and continued to them, to be apprehensive of utmost Dangers from the Crown, from which they of Right expect Preservation.

5. The Commons exhibited Articles of Impeachment against the Earl of *Danby* before any of the five Lords, and demanded Judgment upon those Articles; whereupon your Lordships having appointed the Tryal of the said Earl, to be before that of the other Lords, now your having since inverted that Order, gives a great Cause of doubt to the Commons, that if they should proceed upon the Tryals of these Lords, in the first place, not only Justice would be obstructed in the Case of these Lords, but that they shall never have Right done them in the Matter of the Plea of Pardon, which is a new Device to frustrate publick Justice in Parliament.

Which Reasons being duly weighed by your Lordships, the Commons doubt not but you will agree, that the Commons ought not, nor cannot, without deserting their Trust, depart from their former Vote:

‘ That the Lords Spiritual ought not  
 ‘ have any Vote in any Proceedings agai  
 ‘ the Lords in the *Tower*; and when th  
 ‘ Matter shall be settled, and the Meth  
 ‘ of Proceedings adjusted, the Comm  
 ‘ shall then be ready to proceed upon t  
 ‘ Tryal of the Earl of *Danby*, against wh  
 ‘ they have already demanded Judgme  
 ‘ and afterwards to the Tryal of the oth  
 ‘ five Lords in the *Tower*.

The Lords having long debated the fo  
 going Reasons, and the Question being p  
 on the 27th, whether to insist upon the V  
 concerning the Lords Spiritual; it was  
 solved in the *Affirmative*.

#### Diffidentibus,

<i>Buckingham.</i>	<i>Kent.</i>
<i>Bedford.</i>	<i>Shaftsbury.</i>
<i>Suffolk.</i>	<i>Rocheſter.</i>
<i>Grey.</i>	<i>North and Grey.</i>
<i>Leiceſter.</i>	<i>Townſhend.</i>
<i>Derby.</i>	<i>Herbert.</i>
<i>Clare.</i>	<i>Newport.</i>
<i>Huntington.</i>	<i>Say and Seal.</i>
<i>Wincheſter.</i>	<i>Wharton.</i>
<i>Lovelace.</i>	<i>Stafford.</i>
<i>Stamford.</i>	<i>Howard.</i>
<i>Scarſdale.</i>	<i>Paget.</i>
<i>Delamer.</i>	<i>Fauconberg.</i>
<i>Salisbury.</i>	<i>Windsor.</i>

Then the King the ſame Day, prorog  
 the Parliament to the 14th of *Auguſt*, and  
 was (according to the Praſtice of that Tin  
 quickly diſſolved by Proclamation.

Up

Upon the 21st of *March* 1680, a Parliament was assembled at *Oxford*, where the Commons upon *Friday* the 25th, ordered, that Mr. *Hampden*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, &c. <sup>Proceedings of the</sup> do inspect the Journals of the late Parliaments, relating to the Impeachment of the <sup>Oxford</sup> Earl of *Danby*, and Mr. *Hampden* made re- <sup>Parliament a-</sup>port thereof; and it was thereupon ordered, <sup>brought by</sup> Thht the Lord *Cavendish* should go up with <sup>Earl</sup> a Message to the Lords to mind them, that the Commons had formerly by their Speaker, demanded Judgment upon the Impeachment against the Earl of *Danby* of High Treason, and to desire them to appoint a Day to give Judgment against him; but on the 28th the King dissolved the Parliament, and never call'd another, though he survived almost four Years.

The Earl remain'd in durance in the *Tower of London* a long while after; he try'd all the legal Ways he could to get his Enlargement, to no purpose: But being at length brought before the Court of *Kings-Bench*, on the 27th of *May* 1682, immediately after his Lordship <sup>Brought</sup> was there, the Return of the *Habeas Corpus* <sup>to the</sup> was read, and Mr. *Saunders* (of Council for <sup>King's</sup> his Lordship) did move the Court, that <sup>Bench for</sup> as in *Easter Term* 1681, the Court had <sup>1682.</sup> dismiss'd his Lordship with a Declaration, <sup>Moves for</sup> allowing what Answer they would make to <sup>Bail.</sup> what had then been said to them by his Lordship and his Council; he therefore moved, that they might now accordingly know the pleasure of the Court, and that they



would be pleased to grant Bail to the Earl of *Danby*.

*Lord Chief Justice Pemberton* reprimands the *Earl's Council*. But before Mr. *Saunders* could well have pronounced the foregoing Words, the Lord Chief Justice *Pemberton* did Reprimand the said Mr. *Saunders*, for having offer'd to Impose upon the Court what had never been said by them; saying, that there was no such thing as there having been said at any time, that they would take the Earl of *Danby's* Case into farther Consideration; for that they had told my Lord of *Danby* the last time, that it was not in their Power to give him any Relief at all; and that he therefore wonder'd, and must extremely blame Mr. *Saunders* for moving the Court again in a Matter to which they had already given such a positive Answer, and he could not but admire that he should so misinform his Client, as to give him any such Advice, which could only be, to the giving both him and the Court an unnecessary Trouble.

To all which Mr. *Saunders* reply'd, That he humbly begg'd his Lordship's pardon if he had mistaken him; for that truly he did understand, that his Lordship had declared that he would take time to consider of my Lord *Danby's* Case till the following Term; but that if it was a Mistake, he must beg his Lordship's pardon, and did believe the rest of his Brethren took it so as well as himself.

*Earl's Speech for himself*. The Earl of *Danby* then spoke himself for about two hours, and said to the Lord Chief Justice, that he met with an Objection which he

he did not expect, and that he must beg his Lordship's pardon; not to let that pass for a Mistake which his Council had affirm'd, of the Court's having taken time to consider of his Case, till the next Term after that of his Lordship's being last there; for that his Lordship did therein appeal, both to the rest of the Judges, who were upon the Bench with him, and to all other Persons whatsoever who were then in the Court; whether his Lordship had not said, that if he (meaning the Earl of *Danby*) pleas'd, they would take time to consider of his Case till the next Term: And did declare upon his Honour, that those Words had been pronounced to him by my Lord Chief Justice himself, and that he did then accept it as a Favour from the Court, and did return his humble and hearty Thanks to them for it. Infomuch that his Lordship said, that he confess'd he was very much surpriz'd to meet with such an Introduction at the first Entrance into a Matter, which he conceived to be of so great Weight, as he doubted not but he should make this Case of his appear to be.

But yet that it did give him reason to *Vindicates* believe that he came with some prejudice *what his* before his Lordship; and that they were so *Council* much prepossessed in this Matter, that if he *said.* did not think that every Man in *England* would find that he might be concern'd in what Resolution should be given in this Case, as well as himself, he should scarcely have ventur'd upon it, though he had lain so long under so unreasonable a Confinement

ment as he took himself to do ; and therefore he must desire their Lordships Patience and Attention to what he had to offer in his own behalf, and (as he believed) in the behalf of the Liberty of the Subject in general.

His Lordship directing himself to the Lord Chief Justice, said, It was just now a Year since he was before his Lordship in that Court, and that he was assured that his Lordship did then please to tell him, that they would take time to the following Term to consider of what they should think fit to do in his Lordship's Case ; but he said, that Care was then taken the first Day of that following Term to prevent his coming there, by an Indictment which was brought against him (ready cut and dry'd, as he had been told) for his being privy to the Murder of Sir *Edmond-Bury Godfrey*.

He said he did not wonder at it, because there was nothing so black, which had not been invented to be said against him ; but he confessed he did wonder to hear that such an Evidence of an *Irish* Papist (who was upon Tryal for his own Life, and upon hearsay only) should be believ'd against an *English* Protestant, by a Jury of *Englishmen*, and some of them Gentlemen ; but yet that Wonder had been much abated when he heard that the same Fore-man had been as favourable in the Case of a notorious Murder, as he had been ready to find that Murder against him ; which had not the least Probability in it, and which no Man could think of with more Detestation both of the  
Fact,

Fact, and of any Man that could have an Hand in it, than himself.

However, this prevented him from coming again, till after notice had been given to *Wrong-* Sir *Edmond-Bury Godfrey's* Brother, to know if *fully char-* they had any thing further to say against *ged with* him on that Matter; and that he could get *the Mur-* himself discharg'd from that Indictment: *der of Sir* Edmond- And as to the Wretch himself *Fitz-Harris* *bury God-* (who had accused him) he did two Days *frey.* before his Death, send the Minister of the Tower to his Lordship, to beg of him, that before he died, his Lordship would forgive him his having sworn falsely against him; and he did confess, that he was put upon it to save his own Life, and did say by whom he was prompted to it; and whether it proceeded from those Men, who might think their Villanies discovered, and so might fear they could no way be safe, but by putting that Matter yet farther against him, or from what other Cause his Lordship could not tell; but (if his Lordship was not misinform'd) he did hear that some Men were still endeavouring to get something more of the same Nature to be sworn against him, if they could contrive how to make their forg'd Testimonies to agree about it.

He said, he thought that some time would have tired out the Malice of such Blood-suckers before now, whom he had found so Busie for the first Year and half after his Imprisonment; that he was not a Week without Endeavours used by strange People to get to speak with him, and such as he had reason often to suspect to be Knights of

*The Story  
of Ma-  
grath.*

of the Post ; amongst whom the Story of *Magrath*, (another *Irishman*) he said, was notably Remarkable in his Endeavour (under pretence of Kindness) to have made him their Tool to prove, that *Sir Edmond-Bury Godfrey* had killed himself ; but he said he had the good fortune immediately to detect that Villany, as he hoped yet to live to do by some others : But that in the mean time he foresaw, that he was always to be a particular Object of the Malice of such Men, so long as he was left under this Confinement, from which he saw no hopes to be relieved, but by that Court ; where the Law directed every *Englishman* to come for Justice, that was Oppress'd in his Liberty.

He said, he hoped his Lordship would forgive him for having been a little tedious on that Subject of *Sir Edmondbury Godfrey*, because his Reputation had been so much expos'd in that particular, and before that Court.

After his Discharge from that Indictment, he said there seem'd to be a Probability of the Call of a Parliament in some short time ; and whenever he could give himself the least Hopes of that, he resolv'd to trouble no other Place ; but that now he had not the least Prospect of that Kind, and that he had been a Prisoner above three Years, and yet could safely swear, he was without the knowledge to that Day, for what real Crimes he was Committed ; only he knew that the Matter of Treason had been laid to his Charge, without saying wherein the Treason consist'd.

He

He said he came therefore now to that Court (as the only proper place for all Persons to resort to for their Liberty) and he was sorry that he was put to the great Disadvantage of speaking in his own Cause; but because he saw the last time he was there, that some fault seemed to be found with his Counsels, for urging things which seemed to relate to Matters of Parliament; (although upon a due Consideration of his Request, there was nothing in it which did touch their Jurisdiction) he had chosen rather to rely upon the Court's pardoning his Defects, than put any further Hardships upon those Gentlemen who had been his Council, to whom he had been more beholding than they had been to him; for that they had undergone some unheard-of Rebukes already in another Place, for offering to be of Council with him (though in Matters of Law) which he had believed had never been heard of but in his Case; and he hoped, that when all his Circumstances should have been well consider'd, he should be the last *Englishman* that would ever bear so many Hardships put upon him, as would appear to be through every part of his Case.

In the first place, he said, that he had been both Accused and Committed without any Oath or Affidavit made against him, for any Crime whatsoever; which had been in the Case of no other Lord but himself, and, he did believe, of no other Man.

Secondly,

*No parti-  
lar Treas-  
on af-  
sign'd a-  
gainst  
him.*

Secondly, That there was no particular Treason mentioned in the Articles against him, only the word Traiterous, &c. had been apply'd to things which were not Treason, if they had been true (as was then declar'd by Sir *William Jones*, the King's Attorney) and he said, there were good store of Witnesses to prove, that when it could not be maintain'd by Argument in the House of Commons, that any of the Crimes mention'd against him were Treason; it was answer'd by one of the Long Robe there, who would not have spared to have assign'd the Treason (had there been any) that however they ought to give the Title of High Treason to the Articles, for that otherwise they would dwindle to nothing when they came into the House of Peers. Now in the Impeachments of the other Lords (not to meddle with the Truth or Falstiy of their Accusers) they were charg'd with the highest Treasons in Name, and upon Oaths made against them.

*His Coun-  
cil threat-  
ned.*

Thirdly, That when a short Day was set by the Lords for his being heard, and that he appeared that Day accordingly, his Council was then threatned if they dar'd to plead Matter of Law for him; which he said was never heard of before in any Man's Case whatever, nor in the worst of Times.

*That he  
and the  
King's  
Pardon  
had been  
Prisoners  
together.*

Fourthly, He said if all the Articles had been true against him, and had been Treason; he had his Majesty's Pardon, which he then shew'd to the Court, and demanded the Benefit of it, saying, that that did pardon

don both his Crimes (if he were guilty of any) and his Imprisonment, and yet, that both the Pardon and he had been Prisoners together for above three Years, of which, he said, he durst confidently affirm, that his was the first Precedent since the Conquest.

Fifthly, He set forth that he had not only his Pardon, but that there had been his Majesty's Declaration of it in his Speech to his two Houses of Parliament; together with a Declaration of his Innocency, and a Declaration that he would give him his Pardon ten times over, if that were defective either in Matter or Form; and in this also he said, that his Case was not only particular from any others, but that such Declarations of the King's Intentions to pardon, altho' the formal Pardons had not been obtained, had heretofore been alone a Ground to procure Bail at least, when the Party had been the King's Prisoner, and at the King's Suit, which he supposed was not doubted in his Case.

The Earl here launching out into the length of his Imprisonment with the particular Inconveniences of it, by two most dangerous Sicknesses in the Prison, and by the Loss of divers of his Family, since his being in Prison, who would some of them most certainly not have been in those Places where they had been lost, had he been at Liberty. He took it yet to be a greater Hardship, that the Attorney-General should own the King's Consent to have him bail'd, and yet oppose it.

He



He then proceeded to shew the Ab-  
dity and Dangeroufness of such a Preced-  
to the Subject; how the King's Power  
restrain'd for the Benefit of them; he  
gued *Magna Charta* in his own Case, ci-  
several Precedents and Authorities; as th-  
of Sir Robert Philips, Mr. Selden, Sir Nich-  
*Hyde*, &c. urged the Power of that Co-  
to bail him; that the Lords order-  
Copy of which he then produc'd, was  
bar to it; and having handsomely expa-  
ted upon this Head, he instanc'd in a  
Case of the Lord *Mordaunt*, who was  
peach'd upon Articles in one Session,  
having taken out a Pardon during the P-  
rogation, was never more call'd upon,  
never question'd upon the former Impea-  
ment; altho' the very same Parliament  
again, which had Impeach'd him: And the-  
fore he said, that the Case might im-  
probably happen to fall out so, when a  
Parliament should meet again, which wo-  
consist of new Men.

Then having pleaded well and long  
*English* Liberty, and insisted that his be-  
bail'd would not intrench on the Lords  
der, for which he produc'd divers Pre-  
cedents; he came again to complain of  
length of his Imprisonment, the Conti-  
ance of which was so much the more ga-  
vous, because there was no prospect of  
other Parliament to relieve him; and the-  
fore having pressed hard for it in that Cou-  
he concluded with letting his Lordship kno-  
that as the King himself had sufficiently  
clared, that there was no Danger in  
lett

*Conclusion  
of the  
Earl's  
Speech.*

letting him have his Liberty, so he had such Bail to offer his Lordship, as would sufficiently satisfy the World, that he should be forth coming to answer when and where that Court should appoint, and then he hop'd the two chief Grounds for Detention in a Prison, *viz.* the Danger of a Man's having his Liberty, and the Danger of his not appearing to abide his Tryal, would be fully answered.

And if it might not seem too great a Vanity to say, altho' the true Reason does take away the Vanity of it, because it would not be for his, but for their own Sakes, as what may happen to be their own Cases, he did believe he could have the major part of the House of Lords to be his Bail in this Case, and some of those very Lords who were for the making of this Order, altho' not in that Sence which they would seem to put upon it; insomuch that there would be no more to fear in the granting him Bail, then he hop'd there was either Reason or Justice to deny it. And he doubted not but he was there before very just Judges, who would duly consider what he had said.

The Lord Chief Justice then speaking said, *Interrupted by the Lord Chief Justice.* That the Earl of *Danby* had seemed to reflect upon the Court, as if they had denied him Justice in not hearing his Council.

Then the Earl of *Danby* desired leave to interrupt his Lordship, saying, that his Lordship had mistaken him, for that he had said no such Thing of that Court, nor did he mean it of that Court; but said, it was

was very well known that his Council had been forbid to plead for him in another place ; which was then acknowledg'd by Justice Jones to be very true.

*Lord  
Chief  
Justice's  
Speech.*

The Lord Chief Justice then proceeded, and said, that for his Lordship's saying, they needed not to fear, because he did believe the greatest part of the Lords would be his Bail ; that it was not the fear of another Court that had any kind of Influence upon them ; or that they should do such Things as they fear'd to be called to an Account for : But they were to govern themselves by the doing of Justice ; that they had heard his Lordship with a great deal of Patience ; and that he had said many material Things, and with much Acuteness ; and that they were not senceless of the Hardship of his Lordship's Case, and of the Greatness of his Sufferings ; that they were likewise sensible of the King's desires that his Lordship should have no longer Imprisonment than the Law required ; and he confessed that the King had done as much as lay in his power.

That it was not denied, that that Court could not bail for Treason, for that they had a power bail in all Cases whatsoever, if the Court saw Cause ; neither would the Indictment which was found against him about Sir Edmundbury Godfrey have hindred ; nor was it the Order of the House of Lords which hindred them ; but that they were to act there according to Law ; and he pray'd his Lordship to consider, that they could not relieve him according to Law.

*That*

That he did agree to some things mention'd by his Lordship, and that it was a very hard Case that he should lye so long in Prison; but here was the Misery, they could only compassionate him, for that his Lordship was Imprison'd by an higher Hand, and where they had not power to intermeddle. He instanc'd in Indictments for Treason, and several other great Crimes, in which they could bail Men; but in this Case the supreme Jurisdiction of the Nation had laid their Hand upon it, which was attended by the House of Commons with an Impeachment. Whether their Lordships had cause or not cause to commit his Lordship, they could not inspect; but that they ought to believe that his Lordship was justly Committed; and that their Lordships in their mature Deliberation would do nothing unjustly.

He said that they had a Jurisdiction over all the Courts of the Kingdom (that only excepted) and as it would be very incongruous for an inferiour Court to bail whom they had committed, or to call their Processes in question; so would it be in like manner for them to do in this Cause, because the Lords exceed their Jurisdiction, and were above them. He said also, that the Opinion of all the Judges in *England* had been taken therein, and they had deliver'd their Opinions, that he could not be bail'd; and that the truth was, his Lordship was imprisoned by too high a Court for them to bail him; but that his Lordship was not indefinitely imprison'd, as he had al-

H

ledged;

ledged ; for whenever his Majesty was pleased to call a Parliament, his Lordship would have Remedy.

That the King had power to do it when he pleased, and for his People's Good, no doubt he would when he saw fit ; but that at some times the Circumstances of State differ from other times ; and that it might not for some space of time be thought convenient ; and though this might prove mischievous to a single Person, or to two or three Persons, yet such things must be endur'd for the good of the Publick. He said also, that if that Court should commit a Man for High Treason, and the King should adjourn them from time to time, that Man could not be bail'd until they sat again, so that he must confess (as his Lordship had said) that as this Case did happen, he was under a temporary, indefinite Imprisonment.

*Concludes  
against  
bailing  
the Earl.*

He concluded with telling his Lordship, that he must be contented to wait the King's pleasure when he would call a Parliament : That for his part he was before of Opinion, that they could not bail his Lordship, and he was so still.

*The Earl  
answers.*

The Earl of *Danby* to all this answer'd, that he must confess his Ears did tingle to hear his Lordship say, that the King had done as much as lay in his power, when his Majesty is bound both by his Coronation Oath, and by the Laws, to see Right done at all times to his Subjects : And he desir'd to know whether this was not the King's Court, and whether he had not deputed a power

to them to see Right done to all  
ingly.

said also, that he was now under  
r Amazement than before, since his  
hip had both granted, that this Court  
bail any Treason, and that the Or-  
f the House of Lords did not hinder  
ich till now he confess'd he had taken  
the only Obstruction to his Liberty.  
he had hop'd he had satisfied his Lord-  
that although he was Imprison'd by  
gher Hand, yet that the bailing him  
or intermeddle with the Jurisdiction  
t higher Judicature, and he had yet  
nothing to shew him that it did.

at for what his Lordship had said of  
inion of all the Judges, they had never  
asked in his particular Case, saving  
pon his petitioning the King for Li-  
to go to his Country House at *Wimble-*  
ith a Guard, or otherwise, as his Ma-  
would think fit ; which Petition was  
d by his Majesty to the Judges, and  
(according to their wonted Prudence  
Caution) did only report that they  
nt his Majesty could not legally grant  
eritioner's Request.

at whereas his Lordship said, that he  
not indefinitely Imprison'd, for that  
ver his Majesty was pleased to call a  
ment he would have Remedy ; and that  
st be content to await the King's  
re when he would call a Parliament : He  
hose to be fuller Arguments than any  
self had made to prove, that his Im-  
ment was indefinite, and at the King's

H 2

Pleasure;

pleasure; so that he was now more fully confirm'd than ever to be of that Opinion and wish'd that every Man that heard that Doctrine given for Law might fully consider the Consequences of it.

He said farther, that his Lordship had mistaken him in thinking that he had said, he was under a temporary, indefinite Imprisonment, for that he said he was under an absolute, indefinite Imprisonment; and that his Lordship had rather proved him to be so, than shew'd any thing to the contrary nor did he know what temporary indefinite did mean.

The Lord Chief Justice then said, that he was not a Judge at that time when the Judges Opinions were asked, but desired his Brother *Jones* to relate how it was.

*Judge  
Jones his  
Speech.*

Mr. Justice *Jones* then said, that he remembered the Case had been put to the Judges, Whether the Lords in the Tower might be bail'd? and that it was then the Opinion of the Judges, that they might not but he said, he did think the Earl of *Danby* was not particularly concern'd in the Question at that time, but that it related to the Popish Lords only; and that there was much difference betwixt his Lordship's Case and theirs; besides, he did think that was at a time when there was a Day appointed for the meeting of a Parliament.

*The Earl's  
Reply.*

The Earl of *Danby* then said, that the Question which was put at that time to the Judges, about the Popish Lords, did not concern his Case at all, for that it differed from theirs in very many Particulars which

which he had already mention'd, *viz.* of no Oath against him, no special Treasure alledg'd, &c. which he was loath to trouble them with repeating again; but he supposed that the then Opinion of the Judges ought not to be made any Argument against him. He said also, that the Lord Chief Justice had argued very strongly for him, for that it was true that the King might call a Parliament when he pleased; but if therefore a Man must stay in Prison till the King did please to do so, he may (by that very Argument) lye there all his Life time, if the King pleases; which confirms what he had been a great part of this time labouring to prove; and he said he must confess he did expect to have heard stronger and more powerful Arguments to have convinc'd him that he was in the wrong in what he had said; but that now he was more encourag'd than before, not to give over a Cause which did so much concern every Man in *England*.

The Lord Chief Justice then said, that *Lord* his Lordship was mistaken in believing that *Chief* that Court did keep him in Prison; it was not *Justice* by them, but by a superiour Court, which was too big for them to meddle with, or to examine what they did.

To this his Lordship answer'd, that he *Earl of* had wrong done him, which must be done *Danby* by some Body; and that it was a Maxim of the Law, that the King could do no Man wrong (being advis'd by his Courts) besides that his Majesty had twice shew'd his Consent for that Court to have him bail'd;



neither could he say, that the Lords did him Wrong, because there was nothing in their Order to hinder his being bail'd (besides their own practice to the contrary) and it seem'd now to be said, that it was by the Law, and not by the Order, that he was kept a Prisoner. He said he would not say that that Court had kept him a Prisoner, but by some Body he was sure he was kept Prisoner; but perhaps it might be by the Stars, since he could not find who it was upon Earth that did it.

He concluded, that if he were imprison'd, yet by *Magna Charta*, and the Petition of Right, &c. it was impossible for an *English* Man to be without some certain prospect of Relief in a reasonable time; they being to have Justice done them by the Law at all Times, and without Delay; and that he was now in the King's proper Court for Justice: Wherefore as his Lordship had given his own Opinion, so he did desire that every Judge would be pleased to deliver theirs severally.

*Judge  
Jones his  
Question  
to his  
Lordship.*

Then Mr. Justice *Jones* said, that he was not ready to give any present Opinion, there having been so much, and some Things so materially said by his Lordship; but that for his better Satisfaction he did desire to ask his Lordship a Question in a Point which did much stick with him, and would go a great way in guiding his Judgment; and he was confident that his Lordship was as able to give him an answer to it as any Man; which was this, His Lordship (he said) had been charg'd with Treason by an Impeachment,

ment, and had pleaded a Pardon to the Impeachment before the Lords; he said he took that Plea to be a tacite Confession of guilt in Law (though the Party were never so Innocent) and then it had been a tacite pleading of Guilty; infomuch that he did believe there could be no Admittance of any second Plea, and if so, he did confess, he did not see how that Court could then have any thing to do with his Lordship in that Case, but it was what he had not yet well consider'd (tho' at present he took the Law to be so) and he did desire to hear what his Lordship did say to that.

His Lordship answer'd, that he gave him *The Earl's* great Thanks for letting him clear any *Answer.* Objections, and giving him liberty to answer them; that he was but little vers'd in Law; but that he was at present able to say, that he had heard the Opinions of some great Men of the Law to be otherwise; and instanc'd what the Lord *Coke* had said upon the Case of *Gravesend*, Bishop of *London*, 7 E. 3. who did get a Writ of Discharge served, the said Lord *Coke* said, that it may be, he thought that the taking of a Pardon would have implied a Confession of the Fault, and therefore went a new way; but that was a Mistake; for that no Man that is wise and well advis'd, will refuse God and the King's Pardon, how often soever he may have it; for there is no Man but offendeth God and the King almost every Day, and the Pardon is the safest and surest way.

*The same  
Question  
put in the  
House of  
Lords.*

And though at present he said he was not provided of Precedents in the Case, yet he remembered there was a Case of a Coiner tried at *Durham* upon a Pardon, where the Pardon proved defective; and he was allow'd to plead over. He told him, that the same Question had been mov'd in the House of Lords upon his own Case, where divers had declared themselves, that they hoped it should never pass for Law amongst them, that a Man should not have one Plea for his Life; and for reason, that if a Pardon was pleaded, and not admitted to be good, then the Prisoner had depended upon what he thought had been a good Plea, but was adjudged by the Court not to be so; and then if he should not be admitted to plead over, it would be to insnare a Man's Life without giving him any Plea at all for it: And he concluded, saying he thought that this Question was rather going into the Merits of his Cause than to what he only demanded, which was but bail.

*Judge  
Dolben.*

Mr. Justice *Dolben* then said, He must acknowledge there was a vast difference betwixt his Lordship's Case, and the Case of the Popish Lords in the *Tower*, in many material Particulars, which his Lordship had mentioned; and he must confess that he thought it one of the hardest Cases in *England*: He said he could not but differ from what his Brother *Jones* had said, as to the not having liberty to plead over; for that he was of Opinion his Lordship ought not to be debarred from having a second Plea,  
if

if the Pardon should be over-rul'd ; and (if I did not mistake him) he cited the Instance of one *Herley's* Case (or such a Name) and he said, that his Lordship had said so many things of great Consequence, that he thought it did very well deserve further Consideration ; but if he should be put to give any present answer, he must then say (as my Lord Chief Justice had done) that he thought they could not bail his Lordship, but he thought it might well deserve further Consideration.

Mr. Justice *Raymond* then said, that his *Judge* Lordship's Case had so many weighty Circumstances in it, as ought to make it to be very well consider'd before any Opinion could be delivered in it ; that for what had been said by his Brother *Jones*, about the pleading over or not, he thought that did not properly lye before them in that Place ; that his Lordship had said somethings to which he thought full answer might be given ; but he had also said some Things to which he thought it would not be so easy to answer ; that for his part he thought it was a Case which might well deserve the Consideration of more of the Judges, betwixt this and the next Term ; and that he must acknowledge he must further consider it, before he would presume to give any Opinion at all upon it.

A Council at the Bar then moved, that a Rule of Court might be made to bring his Lordship thither again the first Day of the next Term.

*Chief Justice dis-  
pleased  
with the  
Motion of  
the Coun-  
cil.*

The Lord Chief Justice seem'd displeas'd with the forwardness of that Council, and the Earl of *Danby* excus'd it, saying it was not moved by his Desire or Direction; but said, that was all one as to him, whether there were any Rule of Court or no, for that they were like to be troubled with him again; and that he should not easily give over a Cause wherein he took the liberty of the Subjects in general to be as deeply concern'd as himself; and wherein he had found so little to be said against him, that he did believe he should be as troublesome to them as ever Judge *Jenkins* had been heretofore in the defence of *English* liberty.

The Lord Chief Justice then standing up said, My Lord, your Lordship must for the present be content to be remanded; and speaking to the Lieutenant of the *Tower's* Officer, told him, he must take back his Prisoner.

*Earl re-  
manded  
to the  
Tower.*

There was a Story in those Days, that when the Earl of *Danby* was carried Prisoner into the *Tower*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was coming out; and that the former desiring his Lordship to use his Interest for his speedy Enlargement, because if he continued there long the Air would kill him: To which the other reply'd, *That he need not fear, for the Tower Air was as good as any he had been in, in his Life.* I have a great deal of Reason from the Circumstance of the time, to believe this to be a meer Story; tho' I am confident there scarce had ever been a good Understanding between those two Lords. I have seen a Manuscript writ-  
ten

ten by an ingenious Gentleman, relating to the Affairs of *England*, from the Year 1676 to 1678, wherein is mention'd a Speech made by the Earl of *Shaftsbury* to Sir *Thomas Osborne* when he came to the Chancery Court to take the Oath of Lord Treasurer; which Speech was worded with so much ambiguity, that tho' it was really intended as a Reflection upon him, the Lord *Shaftsbury* having had himself a great desire for the Treasurer's Staff, yet the new Lord Treasurer gave him his Thanks for it; but the next Day he sent a Gentleman to him to desire him to return him the Thanks he had given him, for he ow'd him none on that Account. This MS. is now out of my Hands, but will, I suppose, soon see the Light, and this Passage will then be found in it more at large.

*Sends for his Thanks to the Ld. Chancellor Shaftsbury back.*

The Earl continuing in the *Tower* till *Hilary Term* following 1683-4, he then made a Motion for his Enlargement, and had the Case argued by Learned Council; upon which the Judges (of which *Jeffreys* was Chief) deliver'd their Opinions severally on the 12th of *February*, giving their Reasons, and concluded all in one Judgment, that his Lordship ought to be bail'd, and accordingly bail was taken; his Lordship being bound in a Recognizance of Twenty Thousand Pounds, and the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Albemarle*, and the Earls of *Oxford* and *Chesterfield* his Sureties, in Five Thousand Pounds a piece, upon Condition that the Earl should appear in the House of Lords the next Session of Parliament, and not

*Is bail'd out of the Tower 1683-4.*

not depart without leave of that Court : This indeed was to be a Precedent for the Popish Lords, &c. the Lord Chief Justice and the other Judges agreeing, that for the same Reasons they had given, in the Earl of *Danby's* Case, these Lords ought likewise to be bail'd, and accordingly Recognizances and Sureties were accepted.

Such was the end of this famous Prosecution, says a modern Author ; how just or how groundless it was, I shall not presume to decide, and I have remember'd these Facts only as unquestionable Instances of the Hand we had our selves in the *French King's* late exorbitant Power, which has cost us so much to reduce it ; therefore 'tis Madness to apprehend that King can ever again have any Influence in our Councils, or part in our Friendship ; the Example of this Noble Lord in the worst of Times, is enough sure to deter any Minister hereafter from giving the least Encouragement to such base Offers from *France* ; for if the being passive in such a Clandestine Treaty brought a Person into much Peril of his Life and Fortune ; if to acquiesce in a thing he had so great an Aversion to, was so Criminal, what must it be to deal with the *French Court* out of Choice, and any more to have any secret unwarrantable Commerce with them, It may be objected, that if his Lordship was so clear in this Matter, why was he pardon'd ; why did he abscond ? To which his own answer is, *I do not wonder that my pleading a Pardon, and absconding my self for some time, might justly make both Parliaments*  
and

and Nation believe, that I thought my self guilty of some great Crime ; but I did both in obedience to the King's Commands.

The generality of the People certainly thought him guilty of some great Crimes, so universal was the Clamour against him ; and the following Text or Motto to a Pamphlet writ about him, is a plain Indication that he was thought to be ripe for Destruction ; ' The King said to Shimei, Thou knowest all the Wickedness which thy Heart is privy to ; therefore the Lord shall return thy Wickedness on thy own Head, and King Solomon shall be blessed : So the King commanded Benaiah, who went out and fell upon him that he died ; And the Kingdom was established in the Hand of Solomon.

But to return, we ought not to omit what Opinion his Lordship had of the French Court and Ministers, it agreeing so exactly with their present Character, and serving so well for a Lesson to all good *Englishmen* that shall ever have any thing to do with them ; 'tis in a Letter to the late Lord *Sunderland* ; *I had always so bad an Opinion of that Court, that I will believe that no Good can come from it ; I doubt not but your Lordship must be of the same Opinion by the Tricks and Evasions you meet with from them every Day.*

His Royal Master King *Charles II.* giving way to Fate about a Year after the Earl had obtained his Liberty ; he lived in the Reign of King *James* for the most part a Country Life, and the Parliament call'd by that Prince, took no notice either of his Imprisonment or Enlargement ; the Earl, I say, lived



*Appears  
at the  
Bishops  
Tryal.*

ved pretty retiredly in this Reign ; tho' when just occasion offer'd, he could not but shew his Zeal for the Defence and Maintenance of the Church of *England* in these hazardous Times, and therefore he would make one of those Noble Peers who appear'd both Days at the Tryal of the seven Bishops in *Westminster-hall* in *June* 1688.

*Promotes  
the Revolu-  
tion.*

It was indeed generally thought that King *James*, when Duke of *York*, never cordially affected the Earl ; and that the Earl had not the profoundest Respect in the World for the Duke, whether upon the Account of his Religion, or from some other Considerations, I cannot determine : But now that he was King, and began to set up for introducing Popery into the Nation ; his Lordship, who was a sincere Protestant, as well as many other Patriots, thought it their Duty to look about them ; and, if possible, to ward off the Blow that was intended to be given both to our Religion and Liberties at once : In order to this, he Corresponded with the Prince of *Orange*, and if I mistake not, sent his own Son the Lord *Dunblain* into *Holland*, to concert the proper Measures with his Highness how to relieve us. We had better take this Account in the Duke's own Words, as we have them in the Introduction to his Letters, printed some Years ago, and brought in to justify his Conduct. ' The Duke of *Devonshire*, says he, when we were Partners in the secret Trust about the Revolution, and who did meet me and Mr. *John D'Arcy* for that Purpose, at a Town call'd

call'd *Whittington* in *Derbyshire*, did, in the presence of Mr. *D'Arcy*, make a voluntary Acknowledgment of the great Mistakes he had been led to about me; and said, that both he and most others were intirely convinc'd of their Error. And he came to Sir *Henry Goodrick's* House in *Yorkshire*, purposely to meet me there again, in order to concert the Times and Methods by which he should act at *Nottingham*, (which was to be his Post) and I at *York* (which was to be mine) and we agreed that I should first attempt to surprize *York*, because there was a small Garrison with a Governour there; whereas *Nottingham* was but an open Town, and might give an Alarm to *York*, if he should appear in Arms before I had made my Attempt upon *York*.

No Body more pressing than his Lordship to excite the Prince of *Orange* to undertake his Expedition, and to Land in the Mouth of the *Humber*, with which the Prince was resolv'd to comply: But a strong East Wind having made it impracticable, and his Highness landing in *Torbay*, his Lordship, not a whit discourag'd with the Disappointment, upon the certain News of the Prince's landing, together with his Son the Lord *Dunblain*, the Lord *Fairfax* and *Seizes* others, having got what force they could *York* together, approach'd to the City of *York*; and being admitted, they seized *Risby* the Governour, who withstood their Design; and put my Lord *Dunblain* into his Place.

My

*Disarms  
the Duke  
of New-  
castle.*

My Lord *Lumley*, now Earl of *Scarborough*; was one of those joined with his Lordship in this Enterprize. They had had before a Conference with the Duke of *Newcastle*, whom they endeavour'd to bring over and join in with them for the calling of a free Parliament; but finding by no Means the Duke would comply, they watch'd a proper Opportunity and disarm'd him; the Earl about the same time finding a Bill of Exchange of 300*l.* Sterling, in a Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, for one Father *Smyth*; he thought it more advisable to apply the Money to the Use of the Publick than to let the Priest have it.

*Fails to be  
chosen  
Speaker of  
the Con-  
vention.*

Having done all the Service he could for the Prince of *Orange*, and the Common Cause in the North, he hastened to *London*, and was received by his Highness with very distinguishing Marks of Esteem: With the Earl and the Marquess of *Hallifax* the Prince chiefly consulted what was farther to be done, in order to the Settlement of the Nation. No better Expedient could be found than for the Prince, in whom the Administration was now lodged, to write Circular Letters for calling a Convention; which when they met, the first thing the Lords did was to choose a President or Speaker; the Election fell upon the Marquess of *Hallifax*; nevertheless, he was not so unanimously chosen, but the Earl of *Darby* made strong Pretensions to it, and disputed it with him: But the Majority of Votes happening to be on the other side, his Lordship acquiesced;

lefced, and heartily fell in with the  
 r in promoting the publick Welfare.  
 he Lords began the 29th of *January 1689*,  
 onfider of the Commons voting *the Throne*  
*vacant*; and having refolved themselves  
 a Committee of the whole Houfe, the  
 of *Danby* was Chairman; the first Mo- <sup>Chairman</sup>  
 was made not to agree with the Com- <sup>of the</sup>  
 s, that *the Throne was vacant*; and yet <sup>Commit-</sup>  
 ppose it for the prefent, and to pafs <sup>tee.</sup>  
 he other Question, Whether the Throne  
 g vacant it ought to be filled by a Re-  
 or a King; the Earl of *Nottingham*  
 n'd many Arguments from our *English*  
 ory and elfewhere, to fupport his Opi-  
 for a Regency; and it was faid his  
 ch had fo much Influence, that it would  
 : been followed by a Majority, had not  
 Earl of *Danby* and the Marquess of  
*ifax* ftrenuously oppofed it; fo that the  
 ftion being put to the Vote, fifty one  
 e for a King, and forty nine for a  
 ent.

heir Majesties King *William* and Queen <sup>Made</sup>  
 y were no fooner fixed upon the Throne, <sup>President</sup>  
 they were pleafed to make the Earl, who <sup>of the</sup>  
 been fo very inftrumental to their Ad- <sup>Council.</sup>  
 cement, Lord President of the Council; and  
 g defirous ftill to confer greater Honours  
 n his Lordfhip, they promoted him on  
 29th of *April 1689*, to the Degree of <sup>Marquess</sup>  
 Marquess of this Realm, by the Title of <sup>of Car-</sup>  
 quess of *Carmarthen*; a Place that never <sup>marthen.</sup>  
 e a Title of Honour to any Body be-  
 ; and how the Earl came to make choice  
 it, unlefs upon Account of fome Grants

he had from the Crown in those Parts, I cannot pretend to account for.

*Lord Lieu-  
tenant of  
Yorkshire.* The Marquess being now in very high Esteem with his Majesty, was also Constituted Lord Lieutenant of the East, West, and North Ridings of the County of *York*, of the City of *York*, and County of the same, and *Custos Rotulorum* for the East Riding of *Yorkshire*, and the Liberties of *Rippon* and *Cawood* in the same County, and Governour of the Town and Fortress of *Kingston upon Hull*.

*Designs  
form'd a-  
gainst him  
in the  
House of  
Commons,  
1689.* The Marquess his great Instrumentality in bringing about the Revolution, and setting the Crown upon the King and Queen's Heads, could not exempt him even in the Course of this first Session of the Convention Parliament, from being struck at, upon Pretence of some former Crimes. It was somewhat surprizing that the Business should be set on foot by the Officers of the Household; Mr. *John How*, Vice-Chamberlain at that time to the Queen, having begun it, he was seconded by the Marquess of *Winchester*, her Lord Chamberlain; they moved for an Address to be presented to his Majesty, praying him to remove from his Person and Counsels, such as had been impeach'd in Parliament, and had betray'd the Liberties of the Subject: Tho' there was no Person directly named by them, yet it was very obvious the Marquess, Lord President of the Council, where he had a very great Influence, was meant by them.

This

This Business was promoted by others, and debated with much warmth; but it was an Inadvertency in his Enemies, as well as the Marquess his good Fortune, that the forwardest amongst them were so becalm'd, as to acquiesce with adjourning the Debate till the next Day; but tho' it was not then resum'd, yet the Day following Mr. How (tho' he had told Mr. Dickvelt, who conferr'd with him about it, *That he did not think it a Matter of much Importance*) reviv'd it again, and was seconded by several others; *No Body* but when it was urg'd they should name *would* the Persons, no Body would take that up- *name him* on himself, and so the Business dropt. It's true, those of that Side came to another Resolution, which was, that those impeach'd by the House of Commons could never be discharg'd by the King's Pardon, and that such a Pardon was not pleadable in Court; one of the leading Members would have limited this Resolution to the time to come; but they made it general. Its not an easie Matter to fathom the bottom of this Design against the Marquess; he was from the very beginning of the Parliament one of those whom they threatned to impeach.

To pass over the restless and turbulent *Against* Disposition of some of the Marquess his *reversing* Enemies, some Persons ow'd him a spite *Oates his* because of the Opposition made by him in *Sentence.* the House of Lords, to the reversing of Dr. Oates his Sentence, which was then in Agitation, and for some other Reasons, which they had no mind publickly to declare to the World. However, it was believed the

Marquess was not the only Person stirr'd at in these Proceedings of the Commons; the Marquess of *Hallifax* was talk'd of pretty loudly without Doors, tho' it was conjectured they had a more favourable Disposition towards him than the other.

*Secures  
his Son.*

There was another Affair that made some Noise about this time; the Earl of *Down* only Son and Heir of the Marquess, being a Member of the House of Commons, taken up by a Warrant from the Earl of *Livingston*, Secretary of State: The House thought fit to take Cognizance of it, as relating to their Privileges, alledging it to be contrary thereunto, without they had been first acquainted with it and the Sentence committed, and therefore order'd the Earl should be summon'd to attend in his Place; and being examin'd as to the Reason of his Confinement, he answer'd he did not know that he had been so: one of the Members acquainting the House that he had seen the Warrant in a Messenger's Hands, sign'd by the Earl of *Livingston*, the House order'd the Messenger to appear before them, which he did accordingly, and produc'd the Earl's Order which made the Commons come to a Resolution, that the Earl should give the Reason of his ordering the Lord *Danby* to be secured. The whole Mystery was, that Lord *Danby* at that time lead a Life not at all pleasing to his Father; and that he had also form'd a Design to fit out a Ship to go a privateering; which put the Marquess, whom his Son would not come near

upon having recourse to the Earl of *Nottingham* his Friend, to grant a Warrant to secure him, and for whose Discharge both of them were bail.

What Opinion soever several Members of the Commons and others might entertain of the Marquess; he was in high Esteem with the King and Queen, and his Majesty and the States-General having taken their Maritime Affairs into Consideration; there was in the Month of *August* this Year a Convention made between the Commissioners of both Nations, concerning the Prohibition of Commerce with *France*, as also a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the King and the States-General, both which were sign'd by the Marquess as principal Commissioner, his Colleagues being the Marquess of *Hallifax*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Wharton*. Negotiates Treaties with the Dutch

Some Rumours at least we now had, as if there was no good Understanding between the two Marquesses, but now nam'd; *Hallifax* his humour being such as could not brook an Equal, much less a Superior, which the other took himself to be, by his Post of President of the Council, tho' *Hallifax* was greater, as Speaker of the House of Lords: This was during the Recess of Parliament, the time of whose sitting drawing nigh again; it was discours'd as if the Marquess of *Hallifax* was very discontented, and would quit his Places both of Speaker and Privy-Seal, which he actually did. The Marquess of *Carmarthen*, in the Opinion of the most intelligent and unbiass'd Men was the



fittest Person to succeed him as Speaker ; but Sir *Robert Atkins*, Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, had that high Dignity conferred upon him.

Tho' his Majesty and divers others continued to entertain a great Esteem for the Marquess of *Carmarthen*, others had quite different Sentiments ; and indeed if the following Paragraph in a Pamphlet writ two or three Years after this, were true, in reference to the Council he gave the King ; its not to be wondred that the old Whigs let no Opportunities slip to humble him. ' The Marquess, *says he*, after all his mischievous Management of Affairs in King *Charles's* Reign, having, by an ill fate to this poor Nation, got into some small Pretence of Merit, by the little Assistance he gave at the Revolution, sets up again for the Ministry ; but being apprehensive that those true *Englishmen* who had so bravely exposed their Lives and Fortunes, for the Redemption of their Country, and were so well acquainted with his Methods in the late Reign, could be jealous of his having too great Credit with the King, he thought it his best play to begin with them ; and from his first coming to Court laboured to insinuate jealousies of those Gentlemen, as *Commonwealths-Men*, *Haters of Monarchy*, *Enviers of the King's Power*, and always endeavouring to make him a *Doge of Venice*.

Let the Pamphleteer answer for the truth of this, which does not so well quadrate with the Marquess his future Conduct ; the  
Recess,

Recess, or rather long Intervals of Parliaments in the late Reigns had been the occasion of multiplying the Grievances of the Nation; to redress which, there was a Bill set on foot for a triennial Parliament, which the King at first rejected; but when another of the same Nature had passed both Houses in 1694, his Majesty did not think it advisable to put it by: The Marquess fell in heartily with those who were for promoting it, concerning which he Uses these Words, in his Introduction to his Letters, 'I have seen many Abuses made of the triennial Act, about which King William <sup>For the triennial Bill 1694.</sup> was very much displeased with me for being concern'd in it, and used the very same Expression, which King Charles II. had done about my bringing Oates his Information into Parliament, that I should live to repent it; and I am not afraid to acknowledge that I have repented both, since I have seen such very wrong Uses made of them.

Sometime before this, Charles Lord Mohun <sup>Lord High Steward at the Ld. Mohun's Tryal 1693.</sup> having been unhappily concern'd in the Murder of Mr. William Mumford the Comedian; and the 31th of January 1692-3, being the Day appointed for his Tryal by his Peers, in Westminster-hall; his Majesty was pleased to Constitute the Marquess, Lord High-Steward for that solemn Occasion: This is an Officer made in these Days, *pro hac vice*, either at a Coronation, or the Arraignment of a Peer, in which last Case he sits under a Cloth of State, bearing a *White Staff* in his Hand, being respected like a King, called

called by the Title of *Grace*, formerly given to the Kings of *England*; and they that speak to him say, *May it please your Grace, my Lord High-Steward of England*.

Made  
Duke of  
Leeds  
1694.

Notwithstanding the Reflections above-mention'd, and his Conduct in respect of the triennial Bill, the Marquess found himself so firmly establish'd in the King's Favour, that on the 4th of *May* 1694, and the 6th of his Reign, he was pleased to promote him to the Dignity of Duke of *Leeds*, a great Market Town in the Hundred of *Sbirack* upon the River *Aire*, in the West Riding of *Yorkshire*, the Duke's Native Country; for which Reason 'tis likely he made choice of this Title, which, no more than that of *Carmarthen*, was never a Title of Honour before. The Place nevertheless is extremely Remarkable on many other Accounts; but the Topography and Antiquity of it, written by my worthy Friend Mr. *Ralph Thoresby*, being now in the Press, I shall wave saying any more concerning it.

The Bill  
against  
Sir Tho  
Cooke so  
oblige him  
to Account  
1695.

Another dark Cloud began to gather against his Grace in a few Months after; the Commons having reason to suspect some great Persons had been brib'd by the *East-India* Company to procure them a new Charter, appointed a Committee to search their Books; the Storm alighted on Sir *Thomas Cooke*, who had been Governour and Deputy-Governour, and who in general only inform'd the Company what Money he had disburs'd, without stating Particulars to whom, and for what Services; the Commons soon pass'd a Bill to oblige him to an Account

count; and having sent it to the Lords, we are to observe that at the first reading of it in the House of Peers; the Duke of Leeds spake vehemently against it; ' And <sup>Duke's</sup> introduc'd what he was about to say with <sup>Speech</sup> a most solemn Protestation of his Clean- <sup>against it.</sup> ness and Innocence; and laying his Hand upon his Breast, declared upon his Faith and Honour, that he was perfectly Disinterested, and had no part or concern in that Matter, and therefore might the better appear against it; which he did, expressing a great Abhorrence of the Bill.

The Lords, on the 13th of April, having obtained of the Commons, that Sir Thomas Cooke, Member of their House, should appear before them; he declared that he was ready and very willing before, and so would now, to make full discovery, provided he might have an indemnifying Vote, from all Actions, Suits, and Scandalums; by which he meant *Scandalum Magnatum*; and being withdrawn, the Duke of Leeds stood up, and declar'd ' he was very glad that Gentle <sup>Speaks</sup> man was come to such a Temper, as to <sup>again</sup> be willing to discover, whereby that Bill <sup>upon it.</sup> was prevented, which his Lordship esteem'd to be of so pernicious a Nature: Then he put the House in mind, how the Commons took care of their Lordships Reputation, in asking Sir Thomas Cooke, whether he had distributed any Money among any of their Members, who purg'd them by a solemn Protestation, that he had not: His Lordship thought it reasonable

' able the Lords should have some regard  
 ' to themselves, and therefore moving, that  
 ' Sir *Thomas Cooke* might be called in and  
 ' asked, whither he were willing upon Oath  
 ' to purge all those who sat there? This  
 was not received; after which their Lord-  
 ships came to a Resolution, that the Bill from  
 the Commons, for obliging Sir *Thomas Cooke*  
 to give an Account, &c. should not be pro-  
 ceeded upon, but appointed a Committee  
 to draw up a Bill to indemnify him; who  
 having made some Progress therein accord-  
 ingly, notice came from Sir *Thomas Cooke*,  
 by a Reverend Prelate, who appeared ze-  
 alous for him, that he was afraid he might  
 be Misapprehended as to what he said con-  
 cerning a Discovery, in that he said he was  
 willing and ready; but by *ready* he meant  
 no more than *willing*; and that he should  
 need at least four Months to make the dis-  
 covery he promised; but some of the Lords  
 highly resenting this as prevaricating with  
 the House, he was brought to agree to the  
 time allow'd by them, *viz.* seven Days.

Now the Lords having nominated twelve,  
 and the Commons twenty four of their  
 Members to be of the Committee for exa-  
 mining of Sir *Thomas Cooke*, and he having  
 accordingly given his Account to them;  
 they conceived the same Imperfect, and  
 therefore expected him to be more parti-  
 cular in the Matter; but that not proving  
 satisfactory neither, and Mr. Comptroller  
*Wharton* having reported the Examination  
 to the Commons, Debates arose thereupon;  
 And,

(A.)

(A.) Inform'd the House, that Earl Rivers (who upon Examination was said to have had Three hundred and odd Pounds of the Money) protested he never had a Penny; and tho' he was now of another House he had the same Esteem and Honour for this House as heretofore; and that he had moved the House of Lords, and they had sent for *Molineux*, who had said he had received the Money.

(B.) Observed, that as to all the little Sums, Sir *Thomas Cooke* knew well to whom they were given; but he could never learn to whom Sir *Basil Firebrace* distributed the Monies he received, for Sir *Basil* would not give him an Account of that Matter, tho' often asked by him to do it; *Alton* would have told him, and he would not hear him; so between these two we were fawn; you have it among you, Gentlemen.

(C.) Observed, Sir *Thomas Cooke's* long Preamble, that he had inspected his Powers, reduced his Account into Writing, and delivered in that Paper; whereupon he was examin'd by the Committee, and that it was with great Difficulty, that what they had was drawn from him. As for the first Ten Thousand Pounds, they said they had but an hear-say; *Tysson* told him he gave it Sir *Josiah Child*, who said he gave it the King: [and here note, by the way, that in the fore-mentioned Examination it was said to be a customary Present, and that in King *Charles's*, and other former Reigns, the like had been done for several Years, as appears by the Companies Books.]

Books.] As to the second Ten Thousand Pounds to *Acton*, he proffer'd to tell him the Particulars, and he was unwilling to hear him ; but did not doubt but *Acton* would give a particular and satisfactory Account of all distributed by him ; and yet at the same moment being ask'd where, and in what Condition this *Acton* was, he declared he was a distracted Man, and not able to give the House any Account at all. As to the Forty Thousand Pounds to *Firebrace*; he believed he kept Ten Thousand Pounds for himself; and for the rest refused to tell him, to whom, or for what, or when it was issued ; that he mentioned Contracts to the value of Sixty Thousand Pounds, on Account of procuring a new Charter ; and also Forty Thousand for an Act of Parliament. They were not Fools, but they parted with their Money easily, their Proprietors were little beholding to them.

*A fourth.* (D.) Said, no Man was Innocent if every Man was Guilty ; the Members could not be Innocent if they did not lay their Hands on those Men that had betray'd them and the Company, and he hoped themselves ; he would have them go as far as they could, then they should not be in fault, and moving that *Firebrace*, and *Acton* should be order'd to attend next Day.

*A fifth.* (E.) Seconded the Motion, and moving, that they should not forget a Member of their own, who was accused for receiving a considerable Sum.

After

After this several other Persons were <sup>Mr. Bates</sup> examined as to these Matters, and particularly one Mr. *Bates*, who was, or pretended to be, well acquainted with the Duke of <sup>examined about the disposal of some of the Money.</sup> *Leeds*, and other great Men; and had considerable Sums of the Company lodged in his Hands to dispose of for obtaining a new Charter for them; several of the Examinations and Depositions being foreign to the present Design, Mr. Comptroller the 27th of *April* having made a Report from the Committee of both Houses of the said Examinations by them taken; the following Debate chiefly relating to his Grace arose thereupon in the House of Commons;

(*B.*) Stood up and said, ' Mr. Speaker, I <sup>Debates</sup> conceive there is a necessity to search this <sup>of the</sup> Matter into the bottom; the House has <sup>Commons</sup> a Thread in their Hands, they ought to <sup>upon it.</sup> provide Laws for the future, to prevent the Members of this House from taking Money; all imaginable Endeavours have been used to prevent Discoveries, Ten Thousand Pounds has been pretended to be given to the King; Fifty Thousand Pounds offered to buy an Act of Parliament, or gain their Charter. The Facts prove themselves, and Mr. *Bates* appears an unfortunate Person, whom the Case of his Friend the Duke of *Leeds*, and the Sense of his Oath, have caus'd to make such Contradictions; I move, that the House would put the Matter into such a Method as the shortness of their time will allow.

(*D.*)



(D.) ‘ Mr. Speaker, I do fully agree with  
 ‘ the worthy Person near me, that there  
 ‘ never were greater and more general In-  
 ‘ stances of Corruption, and necessity of  
 ‘ speedy Remedy; that ’tis very fit this  
 ‘ House should let the World see, they are  
 ‘ in earnest. I ask leave to put you in  
 ‘ mind what Practises and Arts have been  
 ‘ used to stifle and stop your Discovery;  
 ‘ so what you have is, as it were, by the  
 ‘ using Force and Constraint; you cannot  
 ‘ wonder at it, when you now found so  
 ‘ great a Man at the Bottom; but there  
 ‘ is no Person in a Post so high, that this  
 ‘ House cannot reach, no Man’s Practise or  
 ‘ Art so deep that this House cannot disco-  
 ‘ ver: Here have been all imaginable En-  
 ‘ deavours used to obstruct this Enquiry,  
 ‘ first, His Majesty’s Name was made use  
 ‘ of at the Committee with hopes, per-  
 ‘ haps, that might stop any further Enquiry;  
 ‘ and if it were made use of there, you  
 ‘ may reasonably expect it was made use  
 ‘ of elsewhere; but that appear’d so far  
 ‘ from being a Matter of Reflection upon  
 ‘ the King, that Sir *Josiah Child* often com-  
 ‘ plained of it, as a Rudeness to his Maje-  
 ‘ sty, that what other Kings had yearly  
 ‘ as a Present, they had not offer’d to his  
 ‘ Majesty in three Years: It was indeed,  
 ‘ if not a Matter of Right, a Matter of  
 ‘ Custom: Then a noble Lord, who may  
 ‘ be named for his Honour upon this Occa-  
 ‘ sion, the Earl of *Portland*, he, when the  
 ‘ Sum of Fifty Thousand Pounds was pres-  
 ‘ sed upon him, did absolutely refuse it,  
 ‘ and

and told them, he would for ever be  
their Enemy and Opposer, if they offer'd  
any such thing. I having thus mention'd  
the Innocent, I must say somewhat of the  
other Side; a stop having been put, the  
Duke of *Leeds* must be apply'd to; cer-  
tainly there never was a more notorious  
Bribery, and that in a Person whom we  
might have expected to have been free  
from such a Crime, whether if you re-  
spect the greatness of his Place, or of his  
former Obligation. Its now fit to speak  
plainly on such Occasions, the House ought  
to endeavour to remove such a Person  
from the King's Council and Presence;  
what Security can the Nation have, when  
we are bought and sold to one another?  
We have seen our Designs defeated, our  
Attempts betray'd, what wonder is it?  
Can any Man think it more strange that  
our Counsels should be sold Abroad, than  
that Characters should be sold at Home?  
Certainly a Man cannot but reasonably be-  
lieve, that he who will sell the Subjects  
will sell the Kingdom for a sufficient  
Bribe. What Prince can be safe in such  
Councils, which are given for private Ad-  
vantage? And then he concluded, that se-  
veral Proposals for Remedy might be here  
offered, one that the House should address  
his Majesty to remove the Duke of *Leeds*;  
but with Submission an Address was too  
mean, too low a thing for the House to  
do at that Time, and upon such an Oc-  
casion, wherefore he mov'd, that they  
might lodge an Impeachment, which he  
would

' would have worded first, that *Thomas*  
 ' Duke of *Leeds*, Lord President of his Ma-  
 ' jesty's Councils, be impeach'd by that House.  
 ' Or thus, that *Thomas* Duke of *Leeds* be im-  
 ' peach'd of High Crimes and Misdemeanors;  
 ' and particularly of Corruption in taking  
 ' a Bribe of Five Thousand Guineas, to ob-  
 ' tain a Charter and Regulation for the  
 ' *East-India* Company.

(E.) Said, I wonder the Gentleman who  
 ' spoke last should say, that which I hope  
 ' he did not believe; that that Lord should  
 ' have sold our Councils to *France*: To which  
 ' (D.) reply'd, it is with some Uneasiness  
 ' I stand up, but that Gentleman forces me  
 ' to it, for I do not take Pleasure to rake  
 ' in a Dunghil: I was far from saying any  
 ' such thing, but argued only from Possi-  
 ' bility, that it was as reasonable to believe  
 ' the one as the other; that when Honour  
 ' and Justice were not the Rules of Men's  
 ' Actions, there was nothing Incredible  
 ' that might be for their Advantage. He  
 ' was seconded by another in the Motion, and  
 ' (G.) said ' That God alone, who produces  
 ' Light out Darkness, can fully discover  
 ' the dark Practises in this Affair, that such  
 ' Actions as these are a Blemish, if not a  
 ' Scandal to the Revolution it self; and  
 ' then agreeing in the Notion for the Im-  
 ' peachment, the Question proposed was;  
 ' That *Thomas* Duke of *Leeds*, President of  
 ' his Majesty's Council, should be impeach'd  
 ' by all the Commons of *England*, of High  
 ' Crimes and Misdemeanors.

• Hereupon

Hereupon a Member demanded, ' by what Law it was a Crime to take Money at Court ? (*A.*) answer'd, if there is no Law, it is time there should be a Law to prevent it : And (*L.*) said, the Law of God is against him, and broke by him. He took an Oath as a Privy-Counsellor : Justice is not to be sold by the Common Law, but there are Parliaments to punish such Crimes, and 'tis hop'd there will be still. (*M.*) said, It was doubtful whether there was Matter in that Report for an Impeachment, they ought to put the Question upon the Report, and see whether it was a Crime ; and (*N.*) objected, there was no Law, and so no Transgression.

Upon the Debate the Question was alter'd to, ' It appears to this House, that there is in the Report now made from the Committee of both Houses sufficient Matter to Impeach *Thomas Duke of Leeds*, Lord President of his Majesty's Council of High Crimes and Misdemeanors : Hereupon there were four or five that moved for excusing it, but it was at last resolved by the House, *That there did appear to that Commons House upon the Report from the Committee of resolve to both Houses, appointed to examine the Persons impeach mentioned in the Report of Sir Thomas Cooke's the Duke.* Account, that there was sufficient Matter to impeach *Thomas Duke of Leeds*, President of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, of High Crimes and Misdemeanors ; and then resolved, that he should be impeach'd accordingly, and that Mr Comptroller should go and do it at the Bar of the House of Lords.

K

Hereupon

Hereupon (S.) inform'd the House of Commons, that the Duke of *Leeds* was at the Door, and desir'd to be admitted in to be heard; which being granted, and a Chair being plac'd for him within the Bar, the Speaker told him they were ready to hear him; and that there was a Chair that his Grace might repose himself, and signified to him, that he might be pleased to be covered: The Duke thereupon sat down, put on his Hat, then rising up, uncover'd himself and said, 'Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of this House, in the first Place I thank you heartily for this favour of hearing me; he then proceeded, 'declaring his Innocence, and that he had attended sooner, if he had had the least Intimation of what the House was upon; he wished the Dispatch thereof had not been so quick, that the Occasion of his coming was from the two Votes upon the Report from the Committee of both Houses; that he had done all he could to be inform'd of the Particulars, but could not, nor had any Notes that finding himself concern'd, he was earnest therein, hearing of a Report, a monstrous long Report, to the end he might not lie under the Displeasure of either of both Houses: He added, it was a bold Word, but it was a truth, that that House had not been then sitting, but for him; that he was formerly pursued by that House in two Points, for being for the French Interest, and for Money; that he had then, (if he might have been heard) justified himself; and he hoped he had since

Since, and would by all his Actions; that  
 one *Firebrace*, by the means of Mr. *Bates*,  
 was introduc'd to him; that he had long  
 known Mr. *Bates*, and if he was not much  
 deceived in him, he could not believe that  
 Gentleman would have transacted such a  
 Matter if put upon it; that the Evidence  
 was but an hear-say, and he hoped that  
 they would not condemn on hear-say;  
 that he would not take up their time by  
 entering into Particulars, that as well as a  
 Treaty Party, there was also a Money  
 party; that as to the Money part, much of  
 it was false; and what was true, he had  
 made no secret, then he could and did say,  
 that neither directly nor indirectly, upon  
 his Faith and Honour, he never touched  
 one Penny of Money; that he observed  
 that a great deal of Pains had been taken  
 to hook and draw in that Matter by a  
 Side wind; that that *Firebrace* thought his  
 Merit would deserve Ten Thousand, and  
 Thirty Thousand Pounds; that the Five  
 Thousand Five Hundred Guineas was no  
 part of the Forty Thousand Pounds; that  
 the Witnesses were called in by the Com-  
 mittee, but in short, *Firebrace*, after his  
 first hearing, desired to be called in again  
 himself, contrary to all Rules; that shew-  
 ed him at least a very willing Witness;  
 that he had a Thread which he hoped to  
 spin finer, and made it appear, that that  
 was a Design laid against him long before  
 the naming of that Committee; that warn-  
 ing was given him some time since, that  
 Matter would be proved against him; that

‘ Firebrace had been told, he should be excused if he would Charge the Duke: I asked no favour, but their favourable Office; that it would be a most unfortunate thing in point of Time to be under the displeasure of that House, or of the Nation.

‘ He pray’d that no severe Sentence might be put on that which would bear a milder one; and that if it might be, that House would reconsider what had been done, or at least preserve him from Cruelty, and not let him lie on the Rack, and be blasted until a Parliament should sit again; that if they would proceed, it might be speedily; for he had rather wait in Council, want Time, want any Thing, than lie under theirs, or the Nation’s Displeasure: He concluded, renewing Thanks and Prayers, if they would reconsider, then the Matter might be brought to a Determination, and that they might have at least their speedy Justice.

The Speech being ended, and the Duke withdrawn, the Comptroller went forth with up to the Lords to Impeach him; in the mean time an Order was made appointing a Committee to draw up Articles to impeach him, with so much haste that they had not Power to send for his Writings, Papers, &c. but this was afterwards rectified.

*His Speech debated.* But before we come to that part, we here to observe, that the House after the Duke’s withdrawing, taking his Speech into Consideration, (D.) said, ‘ That by the  
‘ no

‘ noble Lord’s Speech, the Point was now,  
 ‘ whether the House would arraign the  
 ‘ Committee of both Houses, or go on with  
 ‘ their Impeachment ; that the noble Lord,  
 ‘ when he came to the Matter, would not  
 ‘ enter into Particulars, but passed it over  
 ‘ with excuse of wanting Time ; that he  
 ‘ made no excuse as to the Facts. His Ar-  
 ‘ gument of a Contrivance was, that the  
 ‘ Five Thousand Guineas charged upon him,  
 ‘ was no part of the Forty Thousand Pounds  
 ‘ *Firebrace* was to account for ; but that was  
 ‘ aggravating the Crime ; for Sir *Thomas*  
 ‘ *Cooke* had a double Account, one with, and  
 ‘ one without the Five Thousand Guineas ;  
 ‘ and that was an Indication, that if there  
 ‘ was a Contrivance, such a Thread as was  
 ‘ mentioned by that noble Lord, it was not  
 ‘ to be doubted, but that House where he  
 ‘ was impeached, would clear him.

‘ (T.) Moved that a Committee might  
 ‘ be appointed to withdraw, to consider  
 ‘ what was to be done, in order to gra-  
 ‘ tify that noble Lord by speedy Justice :  
 ‘ He observed, that his Friend Mr. *Bates*  
 ‘ tricking and contradicting himself, was  
 ‘ more than the evidence of *Firebrace* ; who  
 ‘ were his Friends ? who was his Servant ?  
 ‘ Those were Questions not to be asked.  
 ‘ Mr. *Robart* was a Servant of my Lord Pre-  
 ‘ sident, and was fled ——— Mr. *Bates* said,  
 ‘ he kept the Money in the House : What  
 ‘ was become of it ? Sometimes he had  
 ‘ spent it, sometimes it was in his Closet.  
 ‘ He did own the Money was not in his  
 ‘ House on *Sunday*, that on *Tuesday* Morn-



ing *Robart* brought it to him ; but he would never declare from whom he brought it ; if an answer might be given without Doors, and it would not disoblige the Honourable Member who made that Enquiry, he would inform him, that the Duke's endeared Friend, Mr. *Bates*, to whom his Grace was a shadow in a Matter of the Five Thousand Guineas, was a Non-juror, and was then rated in the Parish of St. *Paul Covent-Carden*, at Five Hundred Pounds (not Five Thousand Pounds) to the Tax of four Shillings in the Pound, that it proved happy to some-Body that Gold was not now to be fetch'd from St. *Ger-mains*, instead of St. *James's*.

Articles  
of Im-  
peach-  
ment  
preferred  
against  
him.

While the Lords were now going on with the Bill for imprisoning *Cooke*, *Firebrace*, *Bates* and *Craggs*,, the Commons prepar'd the Articles against the Duke of *Leeds*, and sent them up to their Lordships; the same importing, That the *East-India* Company being apprehensive that they had forfeited their Charter; and having made Application to the King in Council for a Charter of Confirmation, the Duke being then President, did, contrary to his Oath and Trust, by himself, his Agents or Servants, agree with the Company, or their Agents, for Five Thousand Five Hundred Guineas to procure the said Charter of Confirmation, and also a Charter of Regulations, or to use their Endeavours to obtain the same ; that in pursuance of the corrupt Contracts, he, by himself, Agents or Servants, received certain Notes  
or

‘ or Securities for receiving the said Sum  
 ‘ of Five Thousand Five Hundred Guineas  
 ‘ upon passing the said Charters ; that as  
 ‘ soon as the Charter of Confirmation was  
 ‘ pass’d, Two Thousand Five Hundred Gui-  
 ‘ neas, part of the whole Sum ; and upon passing  
 ‘ of that of Regulations, the other part of  
 ‘ Three Thousand Guineas were according  
 ‘ to the Contract, to be received by the  
 ‘ Duke or his Agents or Servants, with his  
 ‘ Privy or Consent ; wherefore the Com-  
 ‘ mons impeached him for these Crimes  
 ‘ and Misdemeanors ; and requir’d that the  
 ‘ Duke should answer the same, and be  
 ‘ punish’d according to his Demerit.

The Lords in the mean time having pas-  
 sed the Bill for imprisoning Sir *Thomas*  
*Cooke, &c.* and my Lord Privy-Seal having  
 made the same Report to the Lords, as  
 Mr. Comptroller had to the Commons ;  
 after the reading thereof, the Duke of *Leeds*  
 express’d himself in this Manner ; ‘ That as *His Speech*  
 ‘ he had formerly protested himself to be *in the*  
 ‘ free in that Matter, so he still deny’d up- *House of*  
 ‘ on his Faith and Honour, that he was *Lords in*  
 ‘ Guilty of any such Corruptions as were *his own*  
 ‘ suggested against him ; and that if the *Vindica-*  
 ‘ whole truth were laid open, it would *tion.*  
 ‘ tend to his Honour and Advantage ; that  
 ‘ he would be very free in telling their  
 ‘ Lordships more before-hand of all that  
 ‘ passed, in which he was any ways concern-  
 ‘ ed ; and thereupon declared, that Mr.  
 ‘ *Bates* introduc’d Sir *Bazil Firebrace* to him,  
 ‘ and that he had had Conferences with  
 ‘ him upon the Subject of the *East-Indi-*  
 ‘ *dia*

‘ *dia* Company which *Firebrace* was concern’d  
‘ for.

‘ That some time after *Mr. Bates* came  
‘ and inform’d him, that he was to have a  
‘ Sum of Money of *Sir Basil Firebrace*, and  
‘ desir’d his Lordship to lend him one of  
‘ his Servants (*Mr. Bates* keeping but a  
‘ Footman) to receive the Money, and so  
‘ he lent him *Monsieur Robart* ; that his  
‘ Lordship knew nothing of the Sum ; but  
‘ afterwards *Mr. Bates* came to him and  
‘ told him, he had received Five Thousand  
‘ Guineas, which he offered to him, telling  
‘ his Lordship, that he had been very oblig-  
‘ ing and kind to him, and that in Ac-  
‘ knowledgment of the many Favours he  
‘ had received from his Lordships Hands,  
‘ he humbly desired him to accept of them ;  
‘ which he refusing, *Mr. Bates* pressed him  
‘ earnestly to take one half, or a quarter ;  
‘ which he still refused, declaring he would  
‘ not touch a Penny of them ; and told him,  
‘ since he had taken them, he thought there  
‘ was no need of returning them, they were  
‘ his own, and wished him good luck with  
‘ them. As I remember (said his Grace)  
‘ I did once to *Mr. Harry Savile*, for whom  
‘ I had a great respect ; which reminds me  
‘ of a Story I must needs tell your Lord-  
‘ ships upon this occasion. He then related  
‘ the Story, that when he was Lord Trea-  
‘ surer, the Excise being to be farmed, for  
‘ which many put in ; the Bidders for it  
‘ (who were to give in their Proposals  
‘ sealed up) having applied themselves to  
‘ *Mr. Savile* for his Interest at Court ; he  
‘ came

‘ came to his Lordship, and desired that he  
‘ would tell the Gentlemen that put in (who  
‘ were several) that Mr. *Savile* spoke for  
‘ them: What, said I (proceeded the Duke)  
‘ would you have me tell all of them, when  
‘ but one of them is to have it? No mat-  
‘ ter for that, said Mr. *Savile*, for whoever  
‘ has it, will think I have done him this  
‘ Service, and I am sure of a good Present  
‘ without more ado; so, my Lords, when  
‘ the Men came, I told them one after an-  
‘ other, you are very much oblig’d to Mr.  
‘ *Savile*, for Mr. *Savile* has been very much  
‘ your Friend. A little after, when the  
‘ thing was settled, Mr. *Savile* came and  
‘ thanked me for what I had done, and told  
‘ me, he had got his Present that he ex-  
‘ pected; which I told him I was glad of,  
‘ and wish’d him good Luck with it, as I  
‘ now did to Mr. *Bates*, and there I was  
‘ then a shadow to Mr. *Savile*, as I was now  
‘ to Mr. *Bates*.

The Articles of Impeachment being read *Speaks*  
in the House of Lords, the Duke re-*again*.  
peated several Things to the same effect as  
before; and said, ‘ That Mr. *Bates* desired  
‘ that he would allow him to bring Sir  
‘ *Bazil Firebrace* to him; that he bid Mr.  
‘ *Bates* take care of Sir *Bazil*, for he took  
‘ him to be a very ill Man; but Mr. *Bates*  
‘ said, he knew him very well; so after  
‘ much Entreaty his Lordship permitted Mr.  
‘ *Bates* to bring him; that Mr. *Bates* and  
‘ his Lordship had had a long Acquaintance  
‘ and Friendship, and what he did was only  
‘ to befriend him.

His

His Lordship added, 'That Storm w  
' was now fallen upon him, was some  
' a gathering; and it was promoted b  
' Faction and a Party, who had on  
' Pique against him, and the King's Busi  
' had been delayed on purpose; that  
' had an original Letter, which gave  
' an Account of this some time before  
' broke out; and appeared only levell  
' against him, because none else were  
' secured; and there appeared a Joy  
' could catch at this, for then they s  
' ped; and Sir *Basil Firebrace* was tr  
' ed with to discover only this part,  
' he should be excused from any o  
' Discovery.

*His An-  
swer to the  
Impeach-  
ment.*

Then his Lordship concluded, ' pray  
' a Copy of the Articles of his Impe  
' ment, and of the Report of the C  
' mittee of the whole House; which  
readily granted. On the last of *April*  
Duke's Answer was sent down to the C  
mons, which imported only, ' That he  
' not guilty of all, or any of the Mat  
' by the said Articles charged in Matter  
' Form, as the same were by the said  
' ticles charged against him; and the C  
mons having made no present Replicat  
thereunto, the Duke upon the second of *April*  
complained in the House of Lords of  
delay of the Commons, alledging, ' T  
' the Impeachment was only to try h  
and added, ' That the Party used great P  
' tiality towards him, and did not enq  
' after others; that they shew'd too m  
' of their Partiality and Spleen, in th  
' Amendm

‘ Amendment to the Bill for imprisoning  
 ‘ Sir *Thomas Cooke*, Sir *Bazil Firebrace*, and  
 ‘ others ; that Sir *Bazil* was to be bailed,  
 ‘ because he was to be a Witness against his  
 ‘ Lordship.

The same Day the Commons having resolved, That the offer of any Money, or other Advantage to any Member of Parliament, for the promoting of any Matter whatsoever, depending or to be transacted in Parliament, was a high Crime or Misdemeanor, and tending to the subverting of the *English* Constitution ; the House resolved, that Monsieur *Robart* should attend them forthwith to be examined touching the Matter relating to the Duke of *Leeds*.

Upon the second of *May* a Motion being made in the House of Lords for reading the Bill for granting to the King a Duty upon Glasses ; the Duke of *Leeds* rose up and told the Lords ; ‘ That it grieved him, that he, who was as much as any Man for the dispatch of the Money Bills, and never opposed any, should now do it ; but he hoped the Lords would consider his Case, not only his, but the Case of many of their Lordships ; for it was in the power of a Tinker to accuse at the end of a Session, and one might lie under it without Remedy ; and since that they, by Mismanagement, had delay’d this Money Bill for six Weeks, it would not be of mighty ill Consequence if it should be a Day or two longer.

Then

Then his Grace prefs'd them earnestly, that if the House of Commons did not reply, the Impeachment might be discharged; for if it were not, he might lie under the Reproach thereof all his Life; he believed the Commons would do nothing in it, for though they had appointed a Committee to meet, they met but once, and that for Form, and never met more, nor would do any thing more in it.

The same Day the Commons being informed by the Sergeant, that Monsieur *Robart* could not be found, they delivered at a Conference with the Lords this Paper; that the Commons would make good the Charge against the Duke of *Leeds*, in Matter and Form as in the Articles mentioned; and that the Committee who were appointed to draw the said Articles, had been daily employed in looking Evidence against the Duke; and that in the Preparation of the Evidence they met with an Obstruction; that Monsieur *Robart*, who appear'd by the Depositions before the Committee of both Houses, to be a material Witness, was withdrawn since the Impeachment was carried up, which had been the Reason the Commons had not yet acquainted their Lordships when they could be ready to make good the said Impeachment, the Commons being desirous that Justice should be done without any manner of delay. Now this Paper being brought into the House of Lords and read, it was moved and agreed, without any Debate, or any Opposition made by the Duke of *Leeds*, that they should address

dress the King to issue out a Proclamation  
 for stopping the Ports and seizing Monsieur  
*Robart*; then the Duke rose up, and <sup>Another</sup>  
 'blam'd the Commons for doing an un- <sup>Speech a-</sup>  
 'heard of and unprecedented thing, to <sup>bout Ro-</sup>  
 'charge a Man with Crimes, and to say they <sup>bart, &c.</sup>  
 'were ready to make them good, before  
 'they had all the Evidence, and now they  
 'should say, they wanted a material Wit-  
 'ness, and lay it upon him to produce that  
 'Witness; as if a Person were obliged more  
 'to produce Evidence against himself, than  
 'to answer such Questions by which he ac-  
 'cus'd himself: Then his Lordship proceed-  
 'ed to tell the House, that in truth he had sent  
 'M. *Robart* to see his Daughter *Lemster*,  
 'who went into the Country big with  
 'Child, and order'd him to call at *Mims*  
 'to see his Daughter *Plymouth*, it being in  
 'his way, where the Messenger of the House  
 'of Commons might have known he was  
 'gone, if he had asked; that his Lordship,  
 'that there might be no mistake, sent a  
 'Messenger on purpose for *Robart*; that his  
 'Footman waked him about two on *Sun-*  
 'day Morning, for which he was very an-  
 'gry; to let him know *Robart* was come,  
 'and was in the House, which was as soon  
 'as he could possibly return; that his Lord-  
 'ship told the Footman he would go to  
 'sleep, and would speak with *Robart* in  
 'the Morning, when he usually called him;  
 'but then he was gone, and upon enquiry  
 'he found *Robart* did not lie, nor pull off  
 'his Boots in his Chamber; that the Foot-  
 'man said, he asked whether the News were  
 'true,



' true, that his Lord was impeach'd, a  
 ' Mr. *Bates* in Prison, which the Footm  
 ' owned, and his Lordship believed t  
 ' frighten'd *Robart*; that his Chaplain shew  
 ' him a Letter from *Robart*, with a desire  
 ' acquaint his Lord, that he designed  
 ' his own Country, *Switzerland*, throu  
 ' *Holland*, from whence he would write  
 ' Lord a true Account of all the Mat  
 ' of the Five Thousand Five Hundred G  
 ' neas to Mr. *Bates*.

' That his Lordship knew by the man  
 ' of his Writing, by the Temper of the M  
 ' and by a particular knowledge he had  
 ' him, and of the thing, that he wo  
 ' not be seen here again in haste; so th  
 ' my Lords, said his Grace, if this Man  
 ' insisted upon as a material Evidence, a  
 ' that my Tryal is to be delay'd till  
 ' Person is forth-coming; when am I  
 ' to be tried? I humbly move your Lo  
 ' ships, that you will come to some Re  
 ' lution, that if this Matter be not imr  
 ' diately proceeded upon, so that I may  
 ' tried before the end of this Session, t  
 ' the Impeachment shall fall.

But the King, on the same Day go  
 into the House of Peers, put an end  
 that Session and Proceedings against the Du  
 which was never after revived against hi  
 so that he lived from henceforward in Tr  
 quility. Indeed when Sir *Charles Dunc*  
 came to be question'd in Parliam  
 about false Indorsing of Exchequer Bi  
 and that a Bill was brought in to  
 nish him, whereby a fine of near half his  
 fit:

*Votes for*  
*Mr. Dun-*  
*cumb,*  
*1697.*

state, computed then at about 400000 l. was set upon him; when it came to the House of Lords the Votes were divided; and the Duke, says the Author of the History of England, gave his casting Vote for rejecting the Bill.

Now the Duke looking upon this as a Calumny, and intended on purpose to asperse him, to clear himself in p. 245 of his Volume of Letters, says in his own Justification how impossible it was to be true, 'That *Vindicates himself.*  
' Sir Charles Duncomb should be saved by his  
' Vote, if he had been his best Friend in that  
' House: For as he was discharged but by  
' one Vote, so it was equally every Man's  
' Vote who voted on his side, and was im-  
' possible to be any more one Lords Vote  
' than another, no majority being known  
' till the whole House had been counted;  
' and as he then heard, Sir Charles pre-  
' vailed with the old Bishop of Gloucester,  
' who was going out of the House, to go  
' in again; which, if true, helpt him to that  
' majority of one Vote, and could yet be  
' no more said to be carried by the Bishops  
' Vote, than by any Lord of the House,  
' who voted on the same side.

The same Year his Grace was one of those noble and eminent Persons, who engaged themselves in a voluntary Society for the Reformation of Manners, nay, the Duke was one of them who gave a laudable *Engaged in the Reformation of Man-*  
Testimony to it, by prefixing his Name to *ners,*  
a Book entituled, *An Account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners in London and Westminster, and other Parts of this King-*  
*dom,*

*dom, with a Perswasive to Persons of all Rank to be zealous and diligent in the Execution of the Laws against Propbanceness and Debauchery, for the effecting of a National Reformation.*

I might have observed before, that the Duke, after the Impeachment, did not seem to stand so fair at Court, nor so much in the Esteem of the People as before. I do not remember whether he acted any more as President of the Council, nor that any other was nominated to that Place till the 18th of May 1699, when his Majesty in Council was pleased to appoint *Thomas Earl of Pembroke* and *Montgomery* to be Lord President, and his Lordship having at the same time surrendred the Privy-Seal to the King, *John Lord Viscount Longsdale* was appointed to succeed him.

*Earl of Pembroke made President in his stead, 1699.*

But what outward Appearance soever things might have, 'tis past doubt that his Majesty retain'd still a great Esteem for the Duke; and, if we may believe common Fame, for indeed I pretend to no other Authority in this Matter; when the Great Seal was taken from my Lord *Somers*, and that the King, by the Advice of the late Earl of *Sunderland*, was disposed to give the Custody of it to *John Methuen*, Esq; then Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*; he was disappointed of it by the Interest of the Duke of *Leeds*, and the same at length put into the Hands of Sir *Nathan Wright*, Kt.

*His other Places how dispos'd of.*

As for the Duke's other Places, *John Duke of Newcastle* was Constituted Governour and Captain of *Hull*, so was he also Lord Lieutenant of the East-Riding of the Countrey of *York*, as  
*Charles*

Charles Earl of Burlington was of the West-Riding and City of York, and John Marquess of Normanby of the North-Riding. But tho' the Duke underwent no manner of Molestation upon the Account of the Impeachment in 1695, it lay still in force against him; and therefore when the Lords, in 1701, dismiss'd the Commons Impeachment against the Earl of Portland, and the Articles exhibited by them against Charles Lord Halifax, to which he had answer'd; they also dismiss'd the fore-mention'd Articles of Impeachment against his Grace.

The Duke, upon the Accession of her Majesty Queen Anne to the Throne, was made a Privy-Counsellor, but beginning to grow in Years declined being put into any other publick Post: He was a great Stickler for the Occasional Conformity Bill, and said in the Debates concerning the Church's danger 1705, that having had the Honour to confer with her Majesty about it, she declar'd her Opinion, that the Church could not be safe without such a Law: He was also a zealous Espouser of the Cause of Dr. Sacheverel, and always appear'd an immoveable Friend to the Constitution both in Church and State: He departed this Life at Euston in Northamptonshire, the Seat of his Daughter the Lady Lempster, in his way to his own Seat of Kiveton in Yorkshire, where he design'd to have ended his Days; having liv'd, as I have been inform'd, above five and twenty Years without ever going once to Stool, the excrementitious parts of his Food, after

a due digestion in his Stomach being discharg'd the same way it was taken in.

Governour  
of the  
Mine Ad-  
venture.

Works.

His Dutcheſs had made her *exit* about a Year and an half before him. The Duke had been Governour of the Company of *Mine Adventurers* a long time, but whether to his Honour or Profit, I cannot determine; ſure I am that ſome have ſuffer'd conſiderably by it; but that may more juſtly be laid at the Doors of ſome others than his Grace's. The Duke of *Leeds*, ſoon after the Death of *Ralph Duke of Montague*, put out a Volume in Octavo, intituled, *Copies and Extracts of ſome Letters written to and from the Earl of Danby (now Duke of Leeds) in the Years 1676 and 1678; with particular Remarks upon ſome of them*: Printed for *John Nicholſon* at the *Queen's-Arms* in *Little Britain*.

He married the Lady *Bridget*, ſecond Daughter, by his firſt Wife, to *Montague Bertie* Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, by whom he hath had Iſſue three Sons and ſix Daughter, 1. *Edward* Lord *Latimer* deceaſed; who married *Elizabeth* eldeſt Daughter of *Simon Bennet* of *Beechampton*, in the County of *Bucks*, Eſq; by whom he had two Children, both which died young. 2. *Thomas*, who died an Infant. 3. *Peregrine* now Duke of *Leeds*, who married *Bridget*, only Daughter and Heir of Sir *Thomas Hide* of *North-Mymms* in the County of *Hertford*, by whom he had Iſſue two Sons, and as many Daughters, viz. *William Henry*, Earl of *Danby*, born July 1691, and died at *Utrecht* on

on the 16th of *August* 1711. 2. *Peregrine*, now stiled Marquess of *Carmarthen*, who married the Lady *Elizabeth Harley*, second Daughter to *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*; the Lady *Bridget* married in 1711, to *Henry* Duke of *Beaufort*; and the Lady *Mary*, a Maiden.——The Duke of *Leeds* his Daughters were, 1. *Elizabeth*, who died unmarried. 2. Lady *Anne* deceas'd, she was first married to *Robert* Coke of *Halkam* in the County of *Norfolk*, Esq; and had a Son by him, who is dead also, and has left Issue; then to *Horatio* Walpole, Esq; 3. The dy *Bridget*, married to *Charles* Fitz-*Charles*, Earl of *Plymouth*, natural Son of King *Charles* II. by Mrs. *Katherine* Peg, Daughter of *Thomas* Peg of *Teldersley* in the County of *Derby*, Esq; by whom he had no Issue, since whose decease she is married to *Philip* Biss, Doctor in Divinity, and now Lord Bishop of *Hereford*. 4. Lady *Katherine*, married to *James*, then Son and Heir apparent of *James* *Herbert*, a younger Son to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, and the Mother by him of——*Herbert*, Esq; who about two Years ago married Sir *James* *Hallet*'s Daughter; the Father and Mother, I think, are both dead. 5. Lady *Martha*, who was the first Wife of *Charles* Lord *Landsdown*, then Son and Heir apparent to *John* Earl of *Bath*, by whom she had one Daughter, who died an Infant. 6. The Lady *Sophia*, first married to *Donatus* Lord *Obrian*, Grandson and Heir to *Henry* Earl of *Thomond*, by whom she had

no Issue, and is now the Widow of *William Farmer*, Lord *Lempster*, by whom she has had two Sons and four Daughters, viz. *Thomas*, born in 1698, now Lord *Lempster* and *William* born in 1704. *Sophia*, who died young; *Katherine*, still living; *Bridget* who died an Infant, and *Matilda* living.





# MEMOIRS

OF THE

Mareschal de Catinat.



HO' Monsieur *Anthony Catinat* <sup>His Family.</sup> be not numbred among the prime Nobility of the Kingdom of *France*, yet he is ranked among the Nobles or Gentry of that Country; and if I mistake not very much, its a Family of good Antiquity in *Dauphine*. This Gentleman was originally bred to the Law, and had made great Advances in that honourable Profession, before he left it for that of the Sword; the Occasion of it was <sup>A Lawyer.</sup> this; that having a Client, whose Cause he took to be very just, and so assur'd him of a happy End of it, when the same came to be try'd, it was nevertheless given against him, which wrought such a disgust in M. *Catinat*, that he resolv'd never to follow that Profession any more, but betake himself



self to some other, tho' he was then five and forty Years of Age.

I am sorry I cannot trace his Actions in his lesser Commands, which doubtless have been very meritorious, because of the great Honours and Dignities he afterwards attained to.

*Com-  
mands on  
the Rhine,  
1689.*

Monsieur *Catinat*, towards the beginning of the War, which commenced in 1688, was entrusted by the King with the Command of his Army on the *Upper Rhine*, where tho' the Conjunction would not allow him to do any thing of *Eclat*, yet his Conduct was so Circumspect that he did not suffer the least Disgrace.

*Against  
Savoy,  
1690.*

In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* having entred into the Grand Alliance, the King pitch'd upon Monsieur *Catinat* to command his Army against that Prince: His first Enterprize in *Piedmont* was against *Carignan*, wherein tho' he was disappointed, he soon made Amends for it, by taking *Cavours*, a small Town on the left of *Pignerol*, and defeating the Allies at the Battle of *Salusses*. which was fought on the 18th of *August* 1690: He order'd the *Italians* to be attack'd by the way of a Morass, which he had caus'd to be sound'd before, and found firm enough to bear his Men; so that the Duke of *Savoy's* left Wing, not expecting to be attack'd in Flank, made not that Resistance which might have been expected: The Cavalry first giving way, but the Right Wing stood firm for several Hours, yet being at length not able to bear the whole Brunt of the Enemies fire, they were forc'd

*Victorious  
at Salus-  
ses.*

to

to give Ground, and several of them, thinking to facilitate their flight by taking the Po in their way, were drowned.

Monsieur *Catinat* having, with the slaughter of 4000 of the Enemy, become Master of the Field of Battle, of 11 Pieces of Cannon, and a great deal of Baggage and Ammunition, next Day possessed himself of *Salusses*, and soon after of *Savillana*; and well knowing of what Importance *Suza* was to have a Communication open between *Dauphine* and *Piedmont*, he made some secret Paces towards mastering of that Pass, of which the Duke of *Savoy* having some Intimations, he detach'd thither six Battalions of Foot, and some Horse, under the Count de *Lovignitz*; upon whose Motion *Catinat* declin'd to take the ordinary Road, but hasted towards the Mountains, marching his Army with wonderful Application and Diligence for six Days together: The Duke of *Savoy* hereupon thinking the Siege of *Suza* but a Feint, and that *Catinat's* real Design was to give him Battle, he sent Orders to *Lovignitz* to join him without delay; so that *Suza* being provided but with a small Garrison, *Catinat* concluded the Campaign with this easie Conquest.

Monsieur *Catinat*, in the Campaign of 1691, underwent some vicissitude of Fortune, for having master'd *Nice* and *Villana*, he form'd the Siege of *Carmagnola*, not above 9 Miles from *Turin*, the Capital of *Piedmont*, and soon oblig'd the Garrison to surrender, the Regular Troops being only allowed to march out with their Arms, but the Militia with

white Wands in their Hands, and be conducted to *Turin*.

*He takes  
Nice.*

I should have mentioned before that *Catinat* had encamp'd before *Nice* in the Month of *March* to besiege it : He presently took the Town, and as he expected to find more Resistance at the attack of the Castle, a Bomb fell so *a-propos* upon the Magazine, that part of the Works blew up, and made a Breach wide enough for an Assault. The Count *de Forsajque*, who was Governour of it, was confounded at so unexpected a Blow, and in spite of all his Bravery was forc'd to surrender. The taking of *Nice* was follow'd by that of *Villa-Franca*, and the loss of the other Forts which his Royal Highness possess'd near the Sea, except *de Oncille*. Monsieur *de la Hoguette* at the head of some Thousand Men enter'd the Valley of *Aoste*, took it, and prepar'd to besiege *Ivrea*, to open his way to join Marshal *Catinat*, who being advanc'd near *Suza* with his victorious Army, seiz'd upon *Veillane*, and by that means made himself a Passage into the Plain. This Conquest was attended with that of two other Places, of which the *French* had formerly been in possession, to wit, *Savillane* and *Salusses*.

*His Mes-  
sage to the  
Duke of  
Savoy.*

*Catinat*, in the midst of so much Prosperity, thought now of the Siege of *Turin*; if he was not wholly in a Condition to form so great an Undertaking, he believ'd at least, that by publishing it, he should frighten his Royal Highness, and bring him to change Sides. So to give some Probability of his Design, he sent a Trumpet

pet to that Prince to tell him, that he would do himself the Honour in a few Days to visit him at *Turin*. His Royal Highness imagin'd he might well excuse a Visit from a General at the head of a superior Army, with Victory on his side ; and considering of securing what he had most valuable in his Court, he sent the Dutcheßes his Mother, his Spouse and his Daughter, to *Verceil* ; labouring with all the Diligence imaginable to repair the Fortifications, to make new Works, and to put his Capital into a good Posture of Defence. He trusted the Marquess *de Parelle*, who had made some Campaigns in *Hungary* with Prince *Eugene*, with the Defence of the Citadel of *Turin*, and to Prince *Eugene* the Town, in case Monsieur *Catinat* attempted to attack it. That General, pursuant to the Orders of the Court of *France*, could not strike a Blow that was more sensible to the Duke of *Savoy*, than by threatening him with this Siege. *Catinat*, on his side, did every thing to show himself an able General, and an able Negotiator, at the same time : There was not an Intrigue he did not make use of to shake the Constancy of his Royal Highness, and bring him to a separate Peace. Besides the great Advantages he offer'd him, he represented to him the Success which the Arms of the most Christian King had had in *Flanders*, by the taking of *Mons*, and the little Dependance he ought to have upon the Assistance of the Allies.

The

The Duke on his part gave him good Words, to put off the Siege or Bombardment of his Capital, while he was preparing to defend it : His Army which was advantageously incamp'd at *Montcalier*, expecting the Succours which were coming to him from *Germany*.

*Catinat* taking the Dissimulation of his Royal Highness for a real Inclination to Peace, wrote immediately to the Court of *France*, who, after having commended that General for his wise Conduct, sent him a new Plan, by which he was to regulate himself in treating with the Duke, whose Proceedings were watch'd so narrowly by the Ministers or the Generals of the Foreign Courts, who were then in *Savoy*, that he was very much embarrass'd to prevent Suspicion and ill Impressions of his Conduct.

Balked at  
Coni.

The *French* General being mightily pleased with his having allarm'd the Duke of *Savoy*, and being flusht with his Successes, form'd the Siege of *Coni*, giving the command thereof to Monsieur *de Bullond*; and having Intelligence that Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with a Detachment of 4000 Horse, and 6000 of the Militia of *Mondovi*, was on the March to relieve it, he sent *Bullond* an Express not to stir out of his Lines, and that there was a Reinforcement of 2500 Men coming to his Relief: But by some Mistake or other, *Bullond* rais'd the Siege with so much Precipitation, that he left one Piece of Cannon, three Mortars, and good store of Ammunition and Provision, and several sick Men behind him. The Duke of *Savoy* being now considerably

considerably reinforc'd from *Germany* and the *Milanese*, it was taken into Consideration, whether it would not be more advantageous to divide the Army, and send one part to the Relief *Montmelian*, or keep all the Forces united to march against the enemy, and force them to retire beyond the Mountains. This last Opinion prevail'd, and the Army having decamp'd from *Carignan* the 14th of *September*, march'd towards *Villa-Franca*. Catinat thought at first they had a design upon *Salusses*, so he decamp'd and posted himself under the Cannon of that Place, where he intrench'd so well that they could not force him. The Duke of *Bavaria* seeing the Differences between the Imperialists and *Spaniards* about Precedence, obstructed their Designs, endeavour'd to compose 'em amicably; 'twas therefore agreed, that in the Marches and Rencontres the Imperial Cavalry should cover the *Spanish* Foot, and the *Spanish* Horse should cover in its turn the Imperial Foot. After this Regulation, finding it impossible to attack Catinat in his Camp, 'twas resolv'd to besiege *Carmagnole*. Pursuant to this Project the Army pass'd the Po the 26th. of *September*, and the next Day Prince *Eugene*, at the head of 1500 Horse, invested that Town. The 13th of *October* they open'd the Trenches, and the 18th the Enemy, having beaten the Chamade, desir'd to capitulate. The *French* had omitted nothing to fortify it well, 'twas provided with every thing that was necessary for a long Siege, and a vigorous Defence: Nevertheless, they surrender'd when we had hardly advanced

vanc'd to the foot of the Glacis of the Conterfcarp. The *Vaudois* had formerly defended *Carmagnole* with great Bravery; and the *French* having granted them a very honourable Capitulation, perform'd it very ill. As the *Vaudois* evacuated the Place, they took from them the Cannon they had granted them, their Arms and their Baggage, and threaten'd to make them Prisoners of War; which bad Treatment so exasperated those Protestants, that they resolv'd to revenge it, as soon as they learn'd that the *French* Garrison, full 3000 Men, were to march out of it. They lay in wait in the Places thro' which they were to pass, and attack'd them with so much Valour, that they took their Arms, and a great part of their Baggage that was left them by the *Germans*. Monsieur *Catinat* complain'd of it to the Generals, and let them know he would revenge it. They answer'd, *They were sorry for it, but that he need not think it strange that they imitated him, since he had given the first Example; that if he would for the time to come oblige his Troops to observe Articles, they would do the same on the part of the Allies.* After the taking of *Carmagnole*, the Horse which were commanded by Prince *Eugene* repast the *Po*, and the Foot had orders to follow; the Allies designing to finish the Campaign with the Siege of *Suza*. To this purpose the Army advanc'd before *Rivoli*, took it, and the next Day *Veillane*. Mons. *Catinat*, having discover'd the Allies design, reinforc'd the Garrison of *Suza* with six Battalions, appointed the Marquess *de Lavroy* Gouverneur,

Governour, view'd the Posts, order'd some Intrenchments, and retir'd with his Army under the Cannon of *Pignerol*.

*Catinat's Army in the Campaign of 1692* was so inferior to that of the Allies, that he was not in a Condition to hinder the Duke of *Savoy* to invade *Dauphine*, and to take *Embrun*; and had it not been for that Prince's sickness, the *French* General might have received greater Mortifications: Nevertheless his Master the *French* King well knowing his Conduct was entirely unblameable, he was in 1693 pleas'd to honour him with the Battoon, he being the ninth and last in Nomination of those Generals who were made Mareschals of *France*: His Majesty also took Care in some time to put him into a better Condition than last Year, by good Detachments from *Germany*, and other Reinforcements: His chief Apprehensions were, that the Army of the Allies would a second time enter into *Dauphine*; Mareschal *Catinat* did his utmost to shut up the Passes thro' which they might penetrate into the Kingdom. He posted himself with a Body of Troops near the *Coll de Fenestrelles*. Monsieur *Lavray* enter'd the Valley of *Barcelonette*, and possess'd the other Passes. The Duke of *Savoy* was pleas'd to see *Catinat* in that Uncertainty, and so busie to intrench himself in Places they did not design to force. The Siege of *Pignerol* had been resolv'd upon, and they could not begin the Campaign with a more glorious Enterprize, the Confederate Army had orders to march; the *Spaniards*, under

Made a  
Mareschal



der the Command of the Marquess of *Leiganex*, past the 14th of *July* thro' *Turin*, and came near *Pignerol*. General *Caprara*, and Duke *Schomberg*, who commanded one the Troops of the Empire, and the other those of the King of *England*, took their Rout by *Chivene*. Prince *Eugene* and Prince *Commerci* at the head of another Body fil'd off by *Cumiane*. The Duke of *Savoy* having left *Turin* came to *Burlasque*, where he review'd the Army, and gave the Generals the Orders they were to follow. Marshal *Catinat* could not comprehend at first, what all these Movements tended to. He knew not whether they had a design upon *Pignerol*, or some other Place. His Royal Highness made as if he would attack *Suza*, and march'd that way with part of the Army. *Catinat* believing he intended in earnest to besiege that Place, drew the Troops which were about *Pignerol* from their several Posts, and order'd them to march to the assistance of *Suza*. Himself took Post so advantageously upon the Hills of *Fenestrelles*, 'twas impossible to attack him there. The Duke of *Savoy* taking advantage of the Marshal's mistake, seiz'd the Posts he had left unguarded about *Pignerol*, and invested that Place the 6th of *July*. In order to a Siege, 'twas necessary first to take the Fort of *St. Brigide*, which defended the Citadel, with which there was a Communication by a Cover'd-Way, so that the Garrison might relieve it when they would. This Fort had four Bastions; the 30th of *July* they open'd the Trenches, and

Confederates take  
Fort Bri-  
gide.

and the Attacks were continu'd till the 15th of *August*; at which time the Besieged, seeing the Miners endeavour'd to make a Breach, and fearing a general Assault, abandon'd it, after having set fire to a Mine to blow up the Fortifications. They had before carried to *Pignerol*, by the Line of Communication, the greatest part of the Cannon, Mortars and Ammunition.

His Royal Highness, after he had taken Fort St. *Brigide*, divided his Army into three Bodies. The first had orders to advance towards *Suza*, the second towards *Pragelas*, with a design to give Battel to *Catinat* before his Army was reinforc'd by the Succours which were coming from *France*, and to cut off his Communication with Monsieur *Lavray*; and the third was appointed to stay about *Pignerol*, to bombard that Place, and repair the Fortifications of St. *Brigide*. They found Marshal *Catinat* so well intrench'd in his Camp, and so well secur'd by some Defiles, that 'twas impossible to attack him; which made the Duke resolve to reassemble all the Troops, and order them to possess the Mountains between *Pignerol* and *Fenestrelles*, to hinder *Catinat's* approaching them. After they had bombarded *Pignerol*, they destroy'd the neighbouring Country. The Confederates broke up the Roads, cut down the Trees, pull'd up the Vines, and set fire to the Villages, to deprive the Enemy of all manner of Subsistence. *Pignerol* offer'd forty thousand *Lewis d'Ors* to save themselves from a Bombardment, but it was rejected, and only Passports

Passports granted the Ladies and Persons  
holy Orders to go out.

Marshal *Catinat* had his Thoughts full  
Revenge; when the Reinforcements he ex-  
pected arriv'd from *Catalonia*, *Flanders* and  
from the *Rhine*, which were all chosen Troop  
he then quitted his Camp, resolving  
give Battel to the Allies. Upon the ap-  
proach of the *French Army*, the Duke  
*Savoy* call'd a Council of War, where  
the Generals were present; and 'twas  
solv'd to blow up Fort St. *Brigide*, and  
camp from before *Pignerol*. The Stores wh  
had been appointed for the Bombardme  
and Siege were sent back, and the Ar-  
march'd to *Marsiglia*, where 'twas imme-  
ately put into Battalia. His Royal High-  
ness, according to his natural Heat, and  
for fighting cost what it wou'd; the other  
Generals laid before that Prince the dan-  
ger to which he expos'd himself, by  
Superiority and Goodness of the Enemy  
Troops. Duke *Schomberg* especially wou  
have dissuaded him from it; Prince *Eug*  
and the Imperial Generals were of the  
same Opinion as the Duke of *Schomberg*.  
The Bravery of the Imperial Troops was  
not to be doubted; but whether the *Italians*  
and *Piemontois* would second them was  
a question. However, rather than give  
occasion to have their Zeal or Courage  
suspected, they submitted to his Royal  
Highness's Pleasure. Duke *Schomberg*,  
willing to have any Command of  
distinction for that Day, yielded it to  
Marquess of *Leganez*, who put himself at  
h

head of the left Wing, and the Duke only led his own Regiment as a private Colonel. This Battel was fought near *Orbassan*, and was one of the bloodiest in all that War.

But notwithstanding the great Loss sustain'd here by the Allies, their Army after the Battel were found upon Revlew to be full 18000 Foot and 7000 Horse, fit for Service. They incamp'd at *Montcalier*, where they took all the necessary Measures to avoid a second Engagement. *Catinat* decamp'd too to be more within Reach, and rais'd Contributions, which was the only Advantage he got by the Battel. It seem'd indeed as if he had a design upon *Coni*. He had detach'd the Count *de Vifson* to take *Busco*, and intended to follow with all his Army; but being on the march, he receiv'd a Counter-order from Court: The King having written to him to tempt again the Duke of *Savoy* to a separate Peace, and in order thereto to leave his Country. *Catinat* passionately desir'd to take Winter-Quarters in *Piedmont*, but *Coni* was absolutely necessary for that Purpose. The King, not thinking fit he should undertake a Siege of that Importance so late, order'd him to re-pass the Mountains before the Snows had shut up the Passages. Accordingly he repast the *Po* near *Salusses*, and fil'd off by the Vallies of *Perouse* and *Pragelas*. He suffer'd very much in that March; his Horse that had taken the Rout of *Malanga* to pass the Mountains, met with Snows, as if it had been in the mid-

dle of Winter, which kill'd a great number. The Peasants of *Piedmont*, exasperated against these Troops, gave no Quarter; and all those who fell into their Ambuscades were the Victims of their Revenge.

*Tempts  
the Duke  
of Savoy  
to a Peace.*

The Campaign of 1694 was unactive on that Side, the Mareschal being not in a Condition to improve his former Conquests: However, to please the Court of *France*, he made new Attempts upon the Duke of *Savoy*: He caus'd it to be represented to him, that the King his Master had such kind Sentiments for his Person, that he would not permit him to do him all the mischief that was in his power. The Marshal convey'd to him the Letter the King wrote him to that effect, by means of one of his principal Ministers. The reading of that Letter, and many others the Duke of *Orleans* had writ him, without mentioning secret Negotiations, shak'd at last his Constancy, and inclin'd him to hearken more to the Addresses they made him. He resolv'd not to enter into any Negotiation, if the Court of *France* would not consent to the yielding up *Cazal* and *Pignerol*. They offer'd him to demolish *Cazal*, and to surrender to him all that they had taken from him during the War; but as to *Pignerol*, the King would not hear it mention'd. This Preliminary was an Introduction to the Peace, but 'twas not then concluded; they agreed however to a secret Negotiation, and a Suspension of Arms. It is surprizing that his Royal Highness, all encompass'd as he was, with Troops, Generals,

rals, and foreign Ministers, carried himself in this Affair with so much discretion, that his Council was always impenetrable; and they knew nothing of what he did, but when he had a mind to it.

The French King engag'd to recal all his Troops out of *Piedmont*, except some small Bodies which had possess'd themselves of the Passes of the Mountains, under the Command of Marshal *Catinat*. The Duke of *Savoy* on his part promis'd not to leave the Plain with his Army, nor undertake any thing against *France*; but so to order it, that all the Designs which the Generals of the Allies had form'd should miscarry. He pass'd the Campaign pursuant to this Agreement. Monsieur *Catinat* encamp'd at *Fenestrelles*, from whence he sent fifteen Battalions to *Perouse*, some others into the County of *Nice*, and a Detachment of Horse and Dragoons on the side of *Frejus*, to guard the Passes of *Provence*, and hinder the Attempts the Allies might make on that side. In the mean time the rest of the Troops which the King had appointed for *Italy*, if the Duke had not agreed, were sent to *Catalonia*, *Provence*, or the *Rhine*. The Allies seeing that Monsieur *Catinat* had but a handful of Men, solicited the Duke to undertake some important Siege, by taking advantage of the Weakness of the Enemy; but that Prince having other Views, put off all these Enterprizes, and observ'd faithfully what he had promis'd to *France*, to the prejudice of his true Interest and that of his Confederates.

This was only a Campaign of Marches and Countermarches ; and except the Castle of *St. George* before *Cazal*, which the Allies took, they liv'd in as much Tranquillity as if they had been in a profound Peace. The Army being divided into a great many Bodies, they thought only of consuming the Forage, and spending their time agreeably. The *Vaudois* indeed did not live in this Idleness ; they were the most formidable Enemies Monsieur *Catinat* had at that time upon his hands ; and whatever side he took, he was not able to hinder their IncurSIONs, and the considerable Booties they took during the course of this Campaign.

The Confederate Fleet being sent into the *Mediterranean* in 1695, the Marechal was obliged to send the greatest part of his Forces to guard the Coast of *Provence*, against any Insults from the Naval Powers of the Enemy ; the truth of it is, the secret Negotiations with the Duke of *Savoy* were kept on foot all the preceding Winter, without any final Determination ; so that his Royal Highness thought now 'twas the time to take the advantage of the absence of the *French* Forces, and master a Place which the *French* Ministers made so many Scruples to yield him, I mean *Cazal*. The Siege being resolv'd upon, it was invested in the Month of *March*, and all things were ready to open the Trenches towards the beginning of *April* ; but when they went to work upon the Attacks, the Snow fell so violently, and the Cold became as insupportable as if it had been in the midst  
of

of Winter. It would have destroy'd the Troops which incamp'd about that Place; so they had orders to return into their Quarters. During these Transactions a Quarrel arose between the Generals, about the Right to this Place when they had conquer'd it. The *Spaniards* and the *Imperialists* pretended it belong'd to them, and neither of these two Parties would quit any thing of their Pretensions. The Duke of *Savoy*, who had his Views, did not desire this Place should come into the Possession of these Powers; and had rather they would have besieg'd *Pignerol*, because it was his if taken, without any dispute. The *Venetians*, and a great many little Princes of *Italy* were not very well pleas'd, that *Cazal* should fall into the Hands of the *Imperialists* or *Spaniards*. Marshal *Catinat* fish'd at that time, as was said, in troubled Waters, and serv'd himself so well of this Dispute, as to put off the Siege, seeing he was not in a condition to oppose it. He saw that the Duke of *Savoy* had no mind to make it; he offer'd him privately a considerable Sum in ready Money, if he would abandon the Design. His Royal Highness having refus'd it, the Marshal made him another Proposition, to give up this Place, demolish'd, to the Duke of *Mantua*. The Duke of *Savoy* convinc'd that the *Imperialists* would keep it, and not liking to have so formidable Enemies at his Gates, joyfully accepted this Offer. But to conceal the Secret from the Generals of the foreign Courts, it

*His Negotiations about Cazal 1695.*



Casal taken by the Allies.

it was agreed, that his Royal Highness should make the Siege in form; and as soon as they should carry on the Works far enough, and that they should be lodg'd on the Glacis, the Marquess of *Crenan*, who was Governour, should beat the Chamade, and deliver the Fortrefs, upon the Conditions which the Duke and Marshal agreed between them; which he did; and the Capitulation was sign'd the 11th of July. The Place was demolish'd, and given to the Duke of *Mantua*. The Mareschal in 1696 was a main Instrument in making a Separate Peace between the Duke of *Savoy* and his Royal Master, who knew him to be as well qualified for Negotiations of State, as for the Affairs of the Field: He sent the Count *de Tefse*, then a Lieutenant General, but since a Mareschal of *France*, to *Turin*, with Instructions suitable to those he had himself received from Court; and being supplied with an Army much superiour to that of his Royal Highness, he advanc'd, without Opposition, near *Turin*, threatening at first the Extirpation of the very Name of the *Piedmontois*: But nevertheless giving the Duke time enough to reinforce his Army before that City, to fortifie his Camp, and to draw a Line from the *Duero* to the *Po*; it gave the Allies a Suspicion that there was some Understanding between the two Courts, and the Mareschal's moving farther off towards *Pignerol* some time after, its certain did not lessen it. There was indeed an Adventure which happen'd much about the same time, which sufficiently discover'd the Secret

crease of the *French* Court in this Affair, as well as the Assurance they had of their Work being done on that Side.

There was a Discourse of some Misunderstanding between the Mareschal and the Grand Prior of *France*, while the Army lay at *Rivolta*; for the Grand Prior urging two or three several times, that the Mareschal had favourable Opportunities to have gained considerable Advantages over the Allies; and still pressing him to make use of the time, the Mareschal as often put him off with Refusals; which made the other, in the height of his Zeal, as believing the Mareschal to be guilty of Negligence or Cowardice, to write his Accusations to the King, who could not forbear smiling all the while he read the Letter: However, he was so kind as to send him an Answer, and to let him know that the Mareschal had obey'd his Orders; and that he should soon see the Reasons of his pretended Negligence ungravell'd.

*He is accused by the Grand Prior.*

A Truce was, not long after, concluded between the two Armies for a Month; then Hostages were exchanged, and at last a Peace concluded, which was very advantageous to the Duke of *Savoy*; for the *French* made a Restitution to him of all the new Conquests, as also of *Pignerol* demolish'd, gave him 4000000 Livres, for Reparation of Damages sustain'd during the War, was to assist him with 8000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, and his Daughter was to be married to the Duke of *Burgundy*, without any Portion. Its true, that it was the

*Makes a Peace between the Duke of Savoy and his Master.*

Count *de Tesse* that sign'd this Treaty, but *Catinat* was the chief Negotiator in this nice Affair.

See to  
Turin.

The Day the Treaty was publish'd, Marshal *Catinat* attended by a great number of Officers, and a Body of Horse, came to the Place where the exchange of Hostages was to be made, which was at *Vinovo*. The Count *de Tesse*, Lieutenant-General, was one, and the Marquess *de Bonzolo* was the other; they were conducted to *Turin*, and nothing was so stately as their Equipages there were above fifty Mules, and more than thirty led Horses. At their Entrance into *Turin* they were immediately conducted to the Audience of the Duke of *Savoy* and the Dutchesse. After this they were treated with a great deal of Magnificence. The Marshal *Catinat* did not receive without the Kindness those the Duke of *Savoy* sent to his Camp in the same quality; they were the Count *de Tana*, Captain of the Lifeguard, Knight of his Orders, and Governor of *Turin*, and the Marquess *d'Aix*, Lieutenant of the same Guards. Marshal *Catinat* shew'd them all the Civility imaginable; he treated them magnificently, and the next Day they were conducted to *Pinerol*. But it was at *Paris* and the Court of *France* where the Joy at the Publication of this Peace was most general; it was publish'd by the Heralds at Arms with the Sound of Trumpets, Hautboys and Drums, in the Streets of the *Tuilleries*. At Night there were Fire-works before the Town-house. The Inscriptions and all the Motto's by allusion

allusion to the great Benefit this Peace procur'd to *France*. They represented *Alexander the Great* cutting the *Gordian Knot*, with these words, *Nemo fatalia Vincula moratur*. A general Neutrality for *Italy* soon following hereupon, and the next Year producing a General Peace in *Europe*, before the Conclusion of which the Mareschal was employ'd in the Reduction of *Aeth* in the *Netherlands*; nothing occurs concerning him for some Years, saving the Character given the Mareschal in the Interval of the two Wars, <sup>His Character in</sup> which was this: That he was a downright <sup>1700.</sup> Soldier; that the great Battles he had won, and the difficult Sieges he had form'd, were so many Proofs of it; that he had not activity enough to spoil an Action, nor slowness enough to lose an Opportunity; that he was capable of the great and little Details of a War; that he was, if it might be so said, the Master of his Events; that tho' he had made his Fortune in a little time, yet his Merit had requir'd a much speedier Rise; that he had a great Depth, and could make War without other Generals, and had only need of good Officers; that he knew how to render his careful Disciple agreeable both to the Soldier and the Officer; and that the Troops follow'd him every where, because they lov'd him, and had a Confidence in him; that his Designs had always appear'd Great, whether for a Campaign, a Fight, or a Siege; that he knew admirably well how to make a right use of Peace, and to render it lasting, without Interest, Vanity or Presumption; one would

would hardly think he Commanded an Army, was a Marechal of *France*, or was born to no Estate; that he held the Politics of the Court beneath him, as much as he regarded those of the State; that he had too much Valour not to love War, and was too good a Subject not to procure Peace when he could; that his Experience for a Campaign, and his Knowledge for the Cabinet, made it dubious which had the Preference in him, that of the *General*, or that of the *Minister*; that one might reproach him with being too learned for a General of the Age, if he had not employed his Learning in things of great Consequence; lastly, that he loved his Prince thro' Motives of Duty and Honour, and was beloved by him as a Man rare and useful to the Publick.

*Makes a new Treaty with the Duke of Savoy 1701.*

Whatever good Fortune attended the Marechal in the last, it fail'd him in the present War begun between the Emperor and *France* in 1701. Indeed he used his accustomed Address in finishing the Treaty between the Duke of *Savoy* and the two Crowns, by which the Duke engaged to maintain 2500 Horse, and 8000 Foot, for a Subsidy of 15000 Livres a Month; and that he should be Generalissimo of the Troops of the two Crowns, and the Princess of *Piedmont*, his Daughter be married to the Catholick King. The Marshal arriving at *Turin* the 14th of *April*, we cannot express the kind Reception he met with. His Royal Highness went himself to meet him at the Gate of the Town, accompanied

company'd with four Colonels. He took him into his Coach, and seated him by himself. Thus they went to the Gate of the new Palace, where the Marshal alighted, and was then conducted to the Palace of Count *Tragni*, which had been fitted up for him.

Amongst the Caresses and Civilities which he heap'd upon him, he call'd him *Father*, <sup>by the Duke of Savoy.</sup> and told him he would learn of him the Art of War, and how to conquer. When the Marshal enter'd the City, he was saluted with the Ordnance. In the Evening he complimented their Royal Highnesses, and the next day had a long Conference with the Duke and his Secretary of State. After this he embark'd on the *Po* to go to *Pavia*, and from thence to *Milan*, from whence he went to *Mantua*, where he view'd the Fortifications, as he did also those of *Guaftalla* with Monsieur *de Tefse*, and visited the Posts and Passes thro' which the Imperialists, who assembled on the side of *Trent*, might enter the *Milaneſe*.

Marshal *Catinat* and Count *Tefse* no sooner heard of the Motion of the Imperialists, under Prince *Eugene*, but they call'd a Council of War, where after several Debates, they resolv'd to march with their Troops towards *Cbiuſa*, near the Lake of *Guarde*, within six Miles of *Pasquiera*, over the *Venetian* Territories. They took Possession of that Post, and intrench'd themselves there. Prince *Eugene* with some other General Officers, having view'd the Posts the *French* possess'd, caus'd some Regiments to advance, who posted themselves

themselves on an Eminence in the *Verona* from whence they might very much incommode the Enemies Camp with their Artillery. His March was attended with such vast number of Difficulties, that the *Mareschal* look'd upon it as miraculous, so sudden was the Motion of the Imperialists, and so narrow the Lanes, which he thought impetrickable. The active General seeing he had to do with a Prince who with so much Success surmounted all the Difficulties that oppos'd his Passage, thought of disputing his Entrance into *Italy* at other Places. At this end he divided his Army into two Bodies, one of which he caus'd to advance towards the Plain of *Caprino*, and order'd the other to take post at *Campo Longono* near *Verona* upon the *Adige*. However, all the Precautions were not capable of stopping Prince *Eugene*, who after he had crossed the Mountains with his Army, came and incamp'd along the *Adige*, resolving to pass that River, which he actually did on the 16 of June, the *French* not being able to hinder them: And this was the first Piece of Folly that discover'd the Ability of Prince *Eugene* to Marshal *Catinat*.

Not able  
to hinder  
the Imperialists  
to pass  
the *Adige*.

After passing the *Adige*, the Marshal divided his Army into several Bodies, believing he should by that be in a better Condition to dispute the Passage of other Rivers. Prince *Eugene*, mindful of all the Marshal's Motions, took his Opportunity to charge the Body he had left at *Carpi*, under the Command of Monsieur *de St. Fremont*; which occasion'd an Action

most daring that had been seen a long  
e. He made as if he would pass  
*Po*; upon which Feint, *Catinat* de-  
off all his Troops on that side. The  
ce having on a sudden alter'd his  
ch, pass'd the *Tartaro*, and the Canal  
to, and fell upon the Enemies Body  
ed at *Carpi*, which consisted for the  
part in Horse and Dragoons. This  
surprize was so much the more difficult,  
use the Country was so full of Ditches, *Defeated*  
s and Thickets, that one could hardly *at Carpi.*  
ch fifty Paces without being oblig'd to  
; which was the reason that the Regi-  
t of Cuirassiers of *Newburgh* being a lit-  
too far advanc'd, and not able to see  
Line, was vigorously attack'd by the  
my, till a Party of the Regiment of  
rassiers of *Vaudemont* came to their As-  
sistance. Count *de Thesse*, who commanded  
ody some Miles from thence, having put  
self at the head of some Squadrons of  
agoons, ran thither with all speed. His  
sistence, and the Succours he brought, a-  
ated the *French* Troops, who began to  
e ground, and now made the Squadrons  
o had begun the Attack under the Com-  
nd of Prince *Commerci* do the same.  
Prince *Eugene*, who was wounded in  
-Action in the left Knee, being come  
his assistance, decided the Victory, and  
ig'd the Enemy to quit their Post with  
siderable loss. By this Battel the *Adige*  
ame free, and the Prince lost no time to  
ch towards the *Mincio*, and seek an op-  
tunity to pass it.

*Catinat,*



*Catinat*, tho' incamp'd in an advantage Post, retir'd the 6th of *July* on the outside of the *Mincio* with silence and great precipitation, and posted himself at that River, which was fordable. The sudden March of the Marshal at first surpris'd the Prince; but his Highness understood some days after, that the *French* Troops wanted Water, and their Horses had lived two days upon nothing but Vine-leaves which had oblig'd the Marshal to encamp. At last the Imperial Army pass'd the *Mincio* without any opposition from the *French*, and by that found themselves in Condition to make further Progress. Prince *Eugene* saw with pleasure that gain'd ground in that Country, as Marshal *Catinat* lost it; and that whatever Pretensions that able General had taken to put with him the Passage of the *Mincio*, he had nevertheless pass'd it, and put in his Power to cover equally, as he had sign'd, the *Cremoneze*, the *Mantuan*, and State of *Milan*. The Success this Prince had in the beginning of the first Campaign extremely troubled Marshal *Catinat*, the more because the *French* King resolved to send the Marshal *Villeroy* into Italy, expecting this new General, who very much in his Majesty's favour, might remedy the Misunderstandings among other Generals who commanded his Army there: 'Twas to this fatal Misunderstanding that the King attributed all the Advantage of the Imperialists; but that Marshal *Catinat* might not conceive any Jealousie, that

*Villeroy*  
sent to  
Command  
in Italy.

Merit was suspected, the King gave himself the trouble to write him a most obliging Letter; in which his Majesty, among other things, acquainted him, that the Difficulties they had met with in that Country had oblig'd him to send the Duke of *Villeroy* thither to assist him with his Counsels, and to endeavour to remove them.

Mareschal *Catinat* answer'd this Letter with all the Submission and Zeal imaginable; he assur'd his Majesty that he had nothing so much at heart as his Glory, and the Prosperity of the Affairs of the two Crowns. But this Marshal, who pass'd in the Opinion of every body for the most able General the King had in his Armies, shew'd afterwards the grievous Vexation it was to him to have the Marshal *Villeroy*, who came not near his Merit, put over him.

The French King was sensibly grieved at the Prosperity of the Imperial Arms; he consider'd that the Preservation of the *Milaneze* was of so much the more Importance, as upon it depended the Kingdom of *Naples*, where they fear'd great Commotions, on account of some Princes and other great Lords, who had declar'd for the Emperor. *Villeroy* came to the French Army the 22d of *August*, when he made a general Review, and then he encamp'd at *Antegnato*: Being desirous to distinguish himself by some signal Action, that might answer the Opinion the King had conceiv'd of him, he propos'd to the Duke of *Savoy* and Marshal *Catinat* to pass the *Oglio*, to attack

tack Prince *Eugene*, and drive him on the *Mantuan*, where he put all under Contribution, notwithstanding the repeated Complaints of the Duke of *Mantua*, said publicly, that the Court of *France* sacrific'd him to the Imperialists.

this Enterprize was applauded by the King of *Savoy*, who commanded the Army of the two Crowns in the Quality of Generalissimo, it was not approv'd by Cardinal *Catani*. The Event justify'd the Reasons which the wise General then gave to avoid an engagement. Prince *Eugene* being inform'd of the Enemies Design, suffer'd them to enter the *Oglia* quietly, exceedingly pleas'd they came to attack him in the Post he possess'd. He contented himself only to change a little the Disposition of his Camp and to reinforce *Chiari*, a little distant from the Town above *Ponto Oglia*, belonging to the *netians*.

Defeated  
at Chiari.

'Twas on *Septemb. 1.* that this Battle was fought. The *French* began the Attack with a great many Brigades, consisting of seventeen Battalions of their best Troops, supported with all their Infantry. The Imperialists receiv'd them with so much Valour that they were forc'd to leave the Field with considerable loss. The Attack began at *Chiari*, where Prince *Eugene* sent some Battalions, supported with Cavalry. The Brigades of *Normandy*, *Duvergne*, *Anjou*, and the Regiment of *Boulogne* were defeated there with very little Loss to the Imperialists. The *French* having been repuls'd, retir'd a League and a half from the Field of Battle, and left part of the

won

wounded, which the Imperial Parties put to the Sword.

Thus *Villeroy*, who was come post to acquire Fame, having the Mortification to be beaten, by that comforted Marshal *Catinat* under the Disgrace he had met with from Court, by their preferring a General who had a great deal less Merit than himself.

It's moreover to be presumed, that the surprizing of *Villeroy* in his Quarters at *Cremona*, and the hurrying him away Prisoner into *Germany*, could not be disagreeable to the Goust of Monsieur de *Catinat*, who perhaps being now very willing to be eased of the Burden of War, was glad the King sent another General into *Italy*, who proved to be the Duke de *Vendosme*: This gave the Mareschal an Opportunity to get leave to retire; he lived mostly from henceforwards at his Seat of *Gratian*, being no Place of Exile, but a voluntary Retirement; for he continued still in the good Graces of his Prince, who upon extraordinary Occasions sent for him to Counsel, and in the great Opinion the World had conceived of his Abilities and extraordinary Services, till His Death. Death overtook him on the 26th of *Febr.* at his Seat abovementioned.

There is a short Eulogium of him in *Bourfaulx's* to this Effect, that the Mareschal was the only Man in the World whose Merit was universally approved; that no Body ever did him more justice

than the Duke de Feuillade, who was his Enemy, and who did not much care to speak well of any Body; *He is*, said he to the King, who ask'd his Opinion of him, *as fit to make a good Chancellor as a good Marshal of France.*





# MEMOIRS

OF THE

## FAMILY

OF

## LISTER.



WE shall look no further back *Sir Mat-*  
 into the Antiquity of this *thw Li-*  
 Northern Family, than the *fter.*  
 Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, in  
 or about the 7th Year of *Birth*  
 which, *Matthew Lister* was born *1565.*

a Place call'd *Thornton* in *Craven*, in the  
 unty of *York*; and after he had gone thro'  
 e Course of the lower Schools, was bred  
 llow of *Oriel-College*: Having diligently *A Retain-*  
 rsu'd his Studies here, he afterwards be- *er to the*  
 me a Retainer to that Incomparable La- *Countess of*  
 , *Mary* Countess of *Pembroke*, Sister to *Pembroke.*  
 e famous *Sir Philip Sidney*, to whom he

*Præfices  
Physick.*

*The Story  
about poi-  
soning  
King  
James I.*

inscribes his *Arcadia*: This Lady's Estate he manag'd for some Years to the best Advantage, but afterwards betaking himself entirely to the Profession of Physick, he grew so Eminent therein, that he became Physician to Queen *Anne*, the Royal Consort of King *James I.* Its very probable that Dr. *Lister* was consulted with in the last Sickness of King *James*, tho' I do not find he was one of his Physicians; but there was one Dr. *Eglisbam* who was so, and oblig'd to flee beyond Seas for some Expressions he had mutter'd about the Manner of that Prince's exit, and lived at *Brussels* many Years after: There he publish'd a Book to prove King *James* was poison'd, wherein, among many other remarkable Passages, there is one about the Plaister that was apply'd to the King's Stomach; he says it was given out to have been *Mithridate*, and one Dr. *Remington* had sent it to the Duke of *Buckingham*, as a Medicine with which he had cured a great many *Agues* in *Essex*. Now *Eglisbam* deny'd it was *Mithridate*, and said that neither he, nor any other Physician, could tell what it was: He adds, that Dr. *Matthieu Lister* and himself being the Week after the King's Death, at the Earl of *Warwick's* House in *Effix*; they sent for Dr. *Remington*, who lived hard by, and asking him what kind of Plaster it was he had sent to the Duke of *Buckingham*, for the Cure of an *Ague*; and whether he knew it was the King that the Duke design'd it for? *Remington* answer'd that one *Baker*, a Servant of the Duke's came to him, in his Master's Name, and desir'd

desir'd him, if he had any certain specifick Remedy against an Ague to send it him ; and accordingly he sent him *Mitbridate* spread upon Leather, but knew not till then it was design'd for the King: But, continues *Eglissham*, Dr. *Matthew Lister* and I, shewing him a piece of the Plaister we had taken off, he seem'd much surpriz'd, and offer'd to take his corporal Oath, that it was none of what he had given *Baker*, nor did he know what kind of mixture it was: It no where appears that Dr. *Matthew Lister* himself ever left any thing memorable behind him, relating to this great Affair, the truth of which we shall not pretend to discuss ; only it's to be observ'd that *Eglissham's* Book was wrote with so much Rancour and Prejudice, that the Manner of his Narrative took off much from the Credit of what he wrote.

But to return from this Digression, our Physician, without doubt long before this time, had qualify'd himself by Travelling into foreign Parts, and had his Doctors Degree conferr'd upon him in the University of *Basil* in *Germany*, from whence he was afterwards incorporated into that of *Oxford*.

Dr. *Lister* in time became Physician to King *Knighbred Charles I.* from whom he received the Honour *by King* of Knighthood at *Oatlands*, on the 11th of *Charles I.* ——— 1636, and at length became President of the College of Physicians in *London*, the *President* highest Dignity he could attain to in his Faculty ; and also one of the prime Physicians in *College* the Kingdom.



*Death and* Having lived many Years in great Fame  
*Age 1657.* and Repute, he at length gave way to Fate,  
 at a Place call'd *Burwell*, near *Lowib* in *Lin-*  
*colnshire*, about the Year 1657, and at the  
 great Age of ninety two; and there, I sup-  
 pose, was bury'd.

*Dr. Edw.* Dr. *Edward Lister*, a Native of *Wakesfield*  
*Lister.* in the County of *York*, was nearly related  
 to Sir *Matthew*, or at least of the same Fa-  
 mily; this Gentleman practis'd Physick several  
 Years at *London* with good Success, and died  
 there on the 27th of *March* 1620.

*Dr. Josiah* This Dr. *Edward Lister* had a Brother *Jos-*  
*Lister.* *siab Lister*, who having also enter'd upon the  
 Physick Line, practis'd at *York*.

*Dr. Martin* Sir *Martin Lister* was the Father of Dr.  
*Lister.* *Martin Lister*, a Native of *Yorkshire*, and great  
 Nephew to Sir *Matthew Lister*, under whom  
 he was bred in his younger Years, and af-  
 terwards became a Student in *St. John's*

*Education* College in the University of *Cambridge*;  
 Physick and Natural Philosophy were his  
 principal Study, the former of which he  
 successfully practis'd, both in *London* and the  
 Country for some Years; and on the 5th of  
 of *March* 1683 *Martin Lister*, Esq; (for so  
 I find him writ) was declared Dr. of Phy-  
 sick, by vertue of the Chancellor's Letters,  
 sent to the venerable Convocation then as-  
 sembled, partly running thus,———He  
*Chancel-* was lately a Practitioner of Physick at *York*,  
*lor's Let-* now here in *London*; a Person of exem-  
*ter to* plary Loyalty, and of high Esteem a-  
*mongst* mongst the most Eminent of his Profession  
*made Dr.* for his excellent Skill and Success therein  
*of Physick* and hath given farther Proof of his Skill  
 1683.

anc

and Knowledge by several Learned Books by him published; he hath entertained so great an Affection for the University of Oxford, that he hath lately presented the Library with divers valuable Books, both Manuscript and Printed; and enriched the new *Museum* with several Altars, Coins and other Antiquities, together with a great number of Curiosities of Nature, whereof several cannot be match'd by any Price, which yet he declares to be but an earnest of what he farther intends, &c. the diploma for his Creation was sealed on the 11th of the same Month, &c.

Returning from Oxford, to follow his Profession in London, the Doctor found some Difficulty in being admitted into the College of Physicians there; but having surmounted the same by the greatness of his Merit, he successfully went on in his Practice and learned Writings; and *William Earl Portland* being in 1698 (after the Conclusion of the Peace of *Ryswick*) sent his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary into France, Dr. *Lister* accompanied him thither; and afterwards publishing some Observations he made, called, *A Journey from London to Paris*: He was animadverted upon by Dr. *King*, under the Name of *Sorbier*, who made himself and his Readers very merry with the Doctor.

Upon the Accession of her present Majesty Queen Anne to the Throne of her Ancestors in 1702, he was sworn last and fourth Physician in Ordinary to Her, the other three being Sir *Thomas Millington*,  
Physician to the Queen 1702.

Dr. Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Ha and Dr. Lawrence, from whence he retired gradually to be *Primarius Medicus*, and died in that Station in the Month of January this Year; before which being grow old and infirm, he had retir'd from Business into the County of Surrey, and there made his exit.

Dr. Lister had been twice married, and if I mistake not, his Son by his first Wife and to whom he has not been so kind as might have been justly expected, follows the same Profession: Other Children he left, whose Names occur not to me.

His Works.

Among several things wrote by this Learned Physician, are *Historia Animalium Angliæ tres Tractatus*, &c. Lond. 1674. an Account of which is in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Numb. 134. 2. *De Fontibus Medicatis Angliæ Exercitatio nova & prior* Ebor. 1682, &c. Octavo; an Account of which is also in the said *Philosophical Transactions*, Numb. 144. This was reprinted with Additions 1684, Octavo; and to this was added, *De Fontibus Medicatis Angliæ Exercitatio altera*, dedicated to the University of Oxford. *Historia Conchyliorum Liber Primus, qui est de cochleis terrestribus*, 1685, &c. all represented in Cuts, &c. There are also several of his Letters, Inquiries, &c. in the said *Transactions*, as also in the *Philosophical Collections*: He likewise put out a Treatise in Folio, with Cuts, *De Piscibus*.



# MEMOIRS

OF THE

# LIFE

OF

## Mr. LUDOLPH.



*R. Henry William Ludolph was Mr. Lu-*  
*a Native of Erfort, one of* <sup>*dolph's*</sup>  
*the chiefest Towns of Thu-* <sup>*Birch.*</sup>  
*ringia in Germany, and born in*  
*the Year 1655.*

His Father was *George Henry*  
*Ludolph*, one of the Counsellors to the said *H<sup>is</sup> Father*  
*City*, which is now in the Hands of the *George*  
*Elector of Mayence.* It is a noted and an- *Ludolph.*  
*cient Family in that Country, and some*  
*have been eminent for Literature, and par-*  
*ticularly for a certain Genius or Facility in*  
*learning many foreign Languages. When*  
*Mr.*

Mr. *Ludolph's* Father was a young Student the whole Empire was involved in a dismal Civil Wars; and by reason of intestine Troubles, little was to be learned at the Universities in *Germany*. This made him resolve to pursue his Political Studies in other Countries; for this Purpose he spent some Years in *Holland*, viz. at *Graven* and *Leyden*; and in the Year 1641 came over to *England*, and after some time went to *France*, and by the way of *Paris* returned to his Native Country again, settled and married at *Erfort*: Our *Henry* was his eldest Son; but the Father dying in the Year 1669 (his Mother being dead since the Year 1663,) when he was about fourteen Years of Age, he was left to the Care of others.

Job Ludolph his Uncle.

By the way it may be observed, that the famous *Job Ludolph* was Brother to *Ludolph's* Father, and so had some hand in the Regulation of the Studies of his nephew: He is known to the learned by his *Ethiopic History*, which he published in the Year 1681, and which was soon put into *English*. In the Year 1691 he published a Commentary upon his History of *Ethiopia*; he published also *Lexicon Ethiopico-Latinum* 1699, *Lexicon Amharico-Latinum, & cum Grammatica Amharica*. This Gentleman understood twenty five Languages, besides his native Tongue, and was a restorer of several *Oriental Languages* in *Europe*, his Genius being entirely bent upon settling Correspondences with the most distant Nations of the World. About the Year 1684 he fell quain

quainted with a Jew named *Elias Tomerita*, born at *Hebron*, once an ancient and famous City of *Palestine*, in the Tribe of *Judah*, near unto which dwelt the Patriarch *Abraham*; and whither *David* retiring after the Death of *Saul*, was elected King there, and made it his Residence for seven Years, till the taking of *Jerusalem*; but it is now almost ruined: From this Jew he got great Light into the modern Rites and Ceremonies of the *Samaritans*, a handful of which remains to this very Day, and is settled in and about *Sichem*, once a very noted Town in *Samaria*, standing near unto the well, where our Saviour discoursed the *Samaritan Woman*; as also near Mount *Gerizim* their Place of Worship. Mr. *Ludolph* being Master of their Language, settled a Correspondence with them by a Letter writ in their Language, by the Hands of the aforesaid Jew, which also a Year after was safely deliver'd to them. These poor People sent soon after an Answer to Mr. *Ludolph*, wherein they begg'd some Charity for their Support; at which one might wonder, seeing that Country is not able at present to maintain its Inhabitants, which heretofore was stor'd with all manner of Necessaries. The following Passage in that Letter is remarkable, *Pray don't send us your Charity by a Jew; for they bate and cheat us, because they have left a great deal of what is written in the Law*: From whence one may conclude, that the hatred betwixt the Jews and *Samaritans*, mentioned by the Evangelists *John* and *Luke*, is not yet quite extinguish'd after so long a Series of Years.

Of

Of their way of Praying they give Account, *We pray to the Lord with our Faces bent towards Mount Gerizim, the House of God both Morning and Evening, bowing our Faces towards the Earth; nay, prostrating our Faces upon the Ground.* The whole Sum and Substance of their Belief is expressed in the following Words of their Letter: *My Face is in thee, O Lord, and in Moses the Son of Amram thy Servant; and in the Holy Land and in Mount Gerizim the House of God, in the Day of Vengeance and Retribution:* I know that one of the chiefest Points controverted betwixt the Jews and Samaritans of old, was about the Place of Worship which the Samaritans had fixed upon Mount Gerizim, on which Manasses (expelled of Jerusalem for marrying the Governour of Samaria's Daughter, a Stranger) built a Temple in Opposition to that of Solomon and the Jewish Worship, settled at Jerusalem. This Controversie, it seems, is still kept up and continued betwixt the Remains of the Jews and Samaritans in those Eastern Parts. But this by the way; we are now to return to his Nephew Mr. Henry William Ludowick, who after having received a very good Education in his Native Country, became sometime Secretary to Monsieur Lentbe, Envoy from Christian V. King of Denmark, to the Court of Great Britain; who, after he had serv'd him for some time with much Fidelity and Ability, was recommended to him, and preferr'd to the Service of the Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, the Year 1686, and became his Secretary.

*Secretary  
to the Danish  
Envoy.*

*Secretary  
to Prince  
George.*

A

After having served in this Honourable Post for some Years, he was seized with so violent a Distemper that indeed incapacitated him for a time to perform the Functions of his Office; so that being discharg'd (but with the Allowance of a handsom Pension) he resolv'd, after he had thoroughly recover'd of his Illness to visit some foreign Countries: He consider'd that the Tour of *Italy* was so Common, that almost every Body of Fortune and Fashion made it; his design was to see those Places, and to understand those Languages that were uncommon; and therefore having in some measure learned the *Russian* Language, before he left *England*, he easily, when he came into *Muscovy*, contracted Acquaintance with the principal Men of that Northern, and almost Untravell'd, Country.

*Jews* there are some, as in all other Parts of the World, with whom he frequently convers'd both there and elsewhere, and so great a Master was he of the *Hebrew* Tongue, that he could talk with them in that Language; and he would so readily turn to the Texts in the *Hebrew* Bible, that some of the *Muscovite* Priests took him for no less than a Conjuror.

Mr. *Ludolph* understood Musick extreamly well, and could play very charmingly upon several sorts of Musical Instruments; to which Science the *Muscovites* were then so great Strangers, that even the Czar himself, before whom he play'd on the Bass Violin at *Muscovy*, was wonderfully surprized as well as exceedingly delighted with it;



it; so novel it was to that Prince, who since by his Travels into several Parts of *Europe*, has rendered himself very knowing and accomplish'd in many Arts, of which himself and his Country were before extremely ignorant and defective in.

*Cut of the  
Stone  
1694.*

Sometime after his return from *Muscor* to *London*, about the end of the Year 1699 he was cut of the Stone, with which cruel Distemper he had been for some time afflicted; concerning which Operation he has these Words, in his Journal of Meditations: 'When I was troubled with the Stone, I did not scruple to trust my self in the Operator's Hands, to undergo the most painful and hazardous Cure of being Cut: why am I then afraid of any suffering, tho' never so bitter, which the Almighty may think fit, for destroying Death and the Body of Sin in me! If I loved God above all things, Sin would afflict me above all things, and I should leave it entirely to the most Merciful and Almighty Physician, what *Method* and *Means* to use about my Cure.

Mr. *Ludolph*, as soon as the State of his Health would permit it, in Acknowledgment of the Civilities he received in *Moscow*, whose Good he studied, as well as that of all Mankind, set himself to work to write a Grammar of their Language; and by to teach the Natives their own Tongue in regular Form: This Book he publish'd in 1699 it was printed at the University Press of *Oxford*; the Character is singular enough, he dedicates it to Prince *Gallitzin*, Prime Minist

to the Czar. Mr. Ludolph tells us in his Preface, 'That the *Russian* is a Dialect of <sup>His Proi</sup> the *Slavonick* Language, and comes near- <sup>face to the</sup> est of any to the Original; that 'tis spoke thro' a vast Tract of Land, from *Arch-Angel* as far as *Astracan*, and from *Ingermannia* as far as the Confines of *China*: 'Tho' there are some Nations between *Siberia* and *China*, who have Languages of <sup>Extens</sup> their own; nay, its not only spoke over <sup>forms of</sup> all the the vast Dominions of the Czar, <sup>the Mat-</sup> but even the *Buchartzian* Merchants, <sup>covite</sup> situate between *India* and *Russia*, study it; wherefore he thought this Essay of his might be of some use to those that either traded or travell'd out of *Curiosity* in *Muscovy*.

'Its true, <sup>continues he,</sup> that a *Slavonick* Grammar has been publish'd more than once in *Muscovy*, which yet can be of <sup>A Slavonick</sup> very little use to Strangers; for the same <sup>Grammar</sup> was writ for the benefit of those *Russians* <sup>before ex-</sup> who study the *Slavonick* Tongue; and <sup>tant.</sup> therefore the Rules are given in no foreign Language, but the very Grammar Terms themselves are rather darkned than explain'd in *Slavonick* Words: Hence it's necessary that the *Muscovites* should be acquainted with the *Slavonick*; seeing the Bible and all other Books of Religion are not only published in that Language, but they can neither write nor discourse of Things relating to Learning or the Sciences, without the use of the *Slavonick*; and therefore by how much the more learned any one would be thought to be, by

‘ by so much the more *Sclavonick* he mix’d  
‘ with his Discourse and Writings.

*What  
Books new  
printed in  
Muscovy.*

‘ He says, ‘ There was but one Book on  
‘ when he was there, that was printed  
‘ the vulgar Tongue, its call’d *Oloschen*  
‘ and contains the Body of the *Muscor*  
‘ Law ; tho’ some of the Constractions  
‘ your more of the *Sclavonick* Gramm  
‘ than the common way of speaking : Th  
‘ was a certain Monk call’d *Polotski*, w  
‘ in the Reign of the late Czar *Theod*  
‘ *Alexowitz*, made a Version of *Davi*  
‘ Psalms into *Sclavonick* Mitre, and pu  
‘ lish’d several other Divinity Books :  
‘ endeavour’d all he could to abstain from t  
‘ use of the more difficult *Sclavonick* Wor  
‘ that so they might be read and unde  
‘ stood by the more People ; but at t  
‘ same time they are all *Sclavonick*, and ma  
‘ of them not understood by the Comm  
‘ People : But as there are none among t  
‘ *Muscovites* who can write or talk lear  
‘ edly without the help of the *Sclavoni*  
‘ so on the contrary, no body by the  
‘ of it alone can do their ordinary Bu  
‘ siness, for the Names of several comm  
‘ Things, which People have daily occasi  
‘ for, are not to be met with in the Bo  
‘ from whence the *Sclavonick* Language  
‘ taken ; and therefore ’tis a saying among  
‘ them, *That they must talk the Russian, &*  
‘ *write the Sclavonick Tongue.*

‘ Tho’ there are several *Muscovites* th  
‘ would not be thought *Ignoramus*’s, w  
‘ write their Words, not as they are spok  
‘ but as they ought to be writ accordi

to the *Sclavonick* Grammar ; but Mr. *Ludolph* thought it more adviseable in his Grammar and Dialogues to write the Words in such Letters as answer the sound in Pronounciation, that so he might be the more serviceable to those who had a mind to learn the *Russian* Tongue. He goes on and says, ' Those who would have a deeper Insight into this Language, may afterwards with the less trouble consult the *Sclavonick* Grammar ; for I have kept to the same Number and Order of Declensions : Whoever looks narrowly into this Language, and how difficult it is to reduce it to certain Grammar Rules, will certainly excuse the Imperfection of this Work. There are some Dialogues and Idioms added to it, containing such Phrases as are daily in Use, *Added a* and the Construction of some particular *German* Expressions, so that they may serve instead of a *Syntax* ; and therefore I have *Version to* added a *German* Version to the Dialogues, *the Dia-* *logues,* *and why,* because the Merchants of several Nations use the high *Dutch* Language in *Muscovy*. I have indeed met with some of the Natives who study the *German* and *Latin* Tongues ; nay, there is a School erected at *Moscow*, by the Patriarchs Order, where *Greek* School-masters teach *Latin* and *Greek* ; that 'tis not true what some have said, that they are contrary to the fundamental Law, Discipline and Studies of *Muscovy* ; nay, the present Czar desires nothing more than the Improvement of his Subjects in all Arts and Sciences. *He adds,* *that*

that seeing many Foreigners may have occasion to go into *Muscovy*, not only on the Account of Commerce and Negotiations, but also upon that of the reign Churches, which are established well at *Archangel* and *Wologda*, as at *Moscow*, the Capital of the Empire, by Czar's favour ; so perhaps one or other may receive some Benefit by &c.

I was so pleas'd, my self, with this count of the *Muscovite* and *Sclavonick* Tongue that I could not forbear inserting it, supposing it might be alike agreeable to Readers; but if I should be mistaken, I trust they will excuse it.

Travels to  
the Levant  
1698.

Mr. *Ludolph* did not end his Travels seeing *Muscovy* and the adjacent Count-  
he had a longing desire to go into the East and so get some Information of the State of the Christian Religion in the *Levant* which was the first Soil that was sowed with the Seed of the Gospel of Christ, but in a manner over-run with the Weeds of Ignorance and Superstition: This Mr. *Ludolph* ascribed to the just Judgments of God and used to say, that the same Judgment might perhaps in time break in upon Western Countries also, if they did not prove the Light of the Gospel whilst they had it, but continued their profane Breach and Contentions about Schemes and Fables of Religion. Mr. *Ludolph* enter'd upon his Journey to the *Levant* in the Month of *March* of the Year 1698, and in *November* following arriv'd at *Smyrna*. As he useth

make all manner of useful Observations, both Ecclesiastical and Physical; so he did particularly in his Travels. His custom was in his Travels to set down a spiritual Meditation in his Journal for the Improvement of his Soul, (see the Preface to the *Remains*, p. 26.) He took notice also of external Contingencies, and the Works of Nature; for an Instance may serve an Observation he has upon the frequent use of Opium in these Eastern Parts. He speaks of a *Turk* who kept a Coffee-house not far from *Smyrna*, who took always four Drachmas of Opium within the Compass of twenty four Hours, and professed he was ready to die away, if now and then he was obliged to be without his usual Dose; but that he no sooner did take it, but was well again, and had his Spirits altogether revived. Of another *Turk* he relates, that he was found almost dead upon the Road, struggling however now and then as one seized with an Epileptical Fit; in this Posture he continued till one going by, put Opium into his Mouth, and thereby recover'd the Man from his dying Fit.

*Examples  
produc'd  
by him  
of the  
strange  
Effects of  
Opium.*

Of the Political Government in the *Turkish Territories*, he hath this Observation, that the Authority of the *Mufti* has a great Influence upon the Transactions both of Peace and War: Particularly the *Mufti's* Determination (called by them *Fetva*) is necessary about the Conclusion of a Peace. And because the last Peace made betwixt the *Turks* and Christians, has been Disadvantageous to the *Port*, the *Mufti* declared at

*His Observa-  
tion a-  
bout the  
Authority  
of the  
Mufli:*

first against it, and with some Reluctancy he gave out at last his *Fetua* or Ictiſion.

*Remarkable Sayings of some Turks.*

He quotes a remarkable ſaying he he from ſome *Turks* at *Conſtantinople*, and to this Effect, *If one goeth the Pilgrimage Mecca* (where *Mabomet* was buried) *and found afterwards either Lying or Whoring, drinking of Wine, he loſeth all the Merit of his Journey, and the Pilgrimage will do him good.* This ſhews as if the *Turks* had ſome Knowledge, that outward Performance though never ſo Religious, will ſtand no ſtead to any Body, if they be not prov'd to a Reformation of their Life and Manners.

*An old Turk's Obſervation about the Chriſtian Religion.*

Another old *Turk* who had been a while in *Italy*, and thereby got ſome knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion, own'd *Mr. Ludolph*, during his ſtay at *Conſtantinople*. That the Chriſtian Religion was a good Religion but then, ſaid he, 'tis very ill obſerv'd; whereas the Turkiſh Religion is a bad Religion; then, ſaid he, it was far better obſerved: therefore he thought he had rather adhere to the Turkiſh Religion, tho' bad in it ſelf, well practis'd, than exchange it with the Chriſtian Religion, though good in it ſelf, but leſs practis'd. This may convince us, that a great ſtain a bad Life is to a good Religion; and that there is hardly an Impediment whereby *Turks* and Infidels are not refrain'd from embracing the Chriſtian Religion, than the corrupt Manners of them that pretend to it.

In the Month of *October* 1699, he went from *Jaffa* to *Jerusalem*, suffering all manner of Hardships by the way: But as he used to improve bodily Sufferings for his spiritual Edification, so he did it in this particular. ‘ My Journey from *Jaffa* to *Jerusalem*, says he, may be an Emblem of our Pilgrimage to the heavenly *Jerusalem*: In the beginning I was over-joy’d that I should have so much Assistance and Comfort of my Company, but soon after I was told the Companion design’d for me could not go; for my Comfort he recommended me to the Aga of the *Janizaries*, and I enter’d upon my Journey pretty well cheer’d up: But I was not got out of the Gates when I was stopp’d by the Customers’s Servant. After they had let me pass at the Druggerman’s, having satisfied their Demands, I was no sooner out of the Gates but the *Arabs* began to exact upon me, and the *Turks*, my Patrons, seem’d altogether useless to me; tho’ afterwards they help’d me outright out of the *Arabs* Hands, and refresh’d me at *St. Jeremy* when I was very much tir’d. My own Carrier, that look’d after the Ass, vexed me, when I came within sight of *Jerusalem*: My Patrons, the *Turkish* Aga’s Guards, frightned and visited me. Being arrived at last at the Gate of *Jerusalem*, and thinking all was over, I was forced to walk to another Gate, where at length, after all my Fatigues, I was received by a Messenger sent me from *St. Salvadore*, and there refresh’d with Rest and Entertainment.



tainment. He has set down the Charges of his Journey from *Jaffa* to *Jerusalem*. An *European* Pilgrim pays fourteen Rixdollars, but an *Armenian*, a *Grecian*, or one of the *Padre di Terra Santa* pays but seven Rixdollars. The Druggerman who received the Money of the Travellers, makes also the best Bargain he can with the Leader of the *Arabian* Rovers, in order to have the Passengers go unmolested from the Insults of such Vagabonds: But notwithstanding this Agreement, the *Arabs* break thro' all these Engagements, and begin to exact upon the Pilgrims as soon as conveniently they can, carrying off now and then considerable Sums. Some have contrived a Stratagem to keep their Goods or Monies from the *Arabs*, which is done by putting it up in the Belly of a dead Hog; the *Arabs* having a great Antipathy against Hogs, and being unwilling even to touch 'em.

Being arrived at *Jerusalem* as aforesaid, *October* the 9th 1699, from *Constantinople*, from whence he set out the 16th of *September* last. The Description of the Sepulchre which enclosed our Saviour's Body, as it is to be met with in the common Journals published by such as have travelled into these Parts, so I forbear to set down the Account given of it by Mr. *Ludolph* in his Papers; only that he continued two Nights in it.

He gives some Account of the vast Charges the Christians are at to maintain the Cloysters set up in these Parts, the *Turks* making very often new Pretensions for exacting

acting larger Sums from them, and this upon very frivolous Pretences too. Mr. Ludolph was told there, that the Expences bestow'd on the Maintenance of the Cloysters did amount to about Fifty Thousand Rixdollars per Ann. On the 10th of November Mr. Ludolph set out from Jerusalem to pursue his Journey to Cairo, where he arrived the 19th of December following: The Conversation he had with the Commander of a Turkish Ship in his Passage to Alexandria, is not the least Remarkable thing in his Travels; for, reading the New Testament in Arabick, which was printed in that Language at the Charge of that great and good Philosopher Mr. Robert Boyle, while he was on Board, *Blessed are the meek, &c.* The Captain having hearkned a little while, ask'd what Book that was; to which Mr. Ludolph answering, *That it was the System of the Christian Religion:* He reply'd, *That that could not possibly be, since they practis'd the quite contrary:* To which Mr. Ludolph rejoining, *That the Turks having no Opportunity of conversing with any other than Sailors and Merchants, few of whom they reckon'd to be good Christians, &c.* The Turk seem'd to be very well pleas'd, and thence forward was extremely kind to him.

The Account Mr. Ludolph gives of the State of Religion among the Grecians in these Parts, contains nothing but a pompous and ceremonious Appearance of their Ecclesiasticks. However, he contracted a Friendship with some of their best disposed Men, which he kept up afterwards by way of an

*His Con-  
cern for  
the Wel-  
fare of  
the Ea-  
stern  
Churches.*

epistolary Correspondence.' And it was undoubtedly the Sight he had had himself of the deplorable State of these Churches, that moved him to attempt, after his return, the Impression of the New Testament in vulgar *Greek*, and to make thereof a charitable Present to the *Greek Church*. He writ then to some of his Friends at *London* upon this Subject: 'If we are truly sensible  
' of that great Mercy which hath so plentifully bestow'd upon us the spiritual  
' Food of our Souls; we shall then look  
' upon it as our Duty to make others also partakers of this heavenly Blessing.  
' ————— Wherefore we desire the Concurrence of those that consider how  
' kindly such a Concern for the Souls of  
' our Brethren will be taken by our heavenly Father, who takes care of our Souls  
' with so unspeakable a Tenderness, and  
' whose infinite Goodness prompts him to  
' pour the more Blessings upon Men, the more zealous he finds them to improve  
' His Favours to his Glory in the Service  
' of their Fellow-Creatures.

I never was but once in Mr. *Ludolph's* Company, being recommended to him by a very worthy Friend of his and mine, that he would bestow one of the Books in vulgar *Greek* upon me, which I have still in my Possession: Upon that occasion I remember he told me how providentially they came by the Original, which was printed divers Years before, in two Volumes, and on a pretty large Letter, in *Quarto*, in *Holland*: That going one Day to visit the present

ent Bishop of *Worcester*, his Lordship in-  
 form'd him, that an ordinary Man, dress'd  
 somewhat like a Seamen, coming to his Door  
 and desiring to speak with his Lordship,  
 he produced those Volumes, and offered  
 them to Sale. The Bishop looking upon  
 them, after he asked him, how he came  
 by them? To which the Man gave some  
 plausible Answer, he gave him the Price he  
 ask'd, and dismiss'd him. These two Vo-  
 lumes were, by the Industry of Mr. *Ludolph*,  
 and the generous Contributions of the Bishop  
 and their well-disposed Friends, and other  
 noble Contributors, printed in one Volume  
 12° at *London*, in the Year 1705, as ap-  
 pears by the Title page of the Book it self.  
 and since I have mention'd this Edition of  
 the New Testament in vulgar *Greek*, I am  
 to add, that it has proved the Foundation  
 of another and more approved Edition, pub-  
 lished both in the vulgar and original Texts,  
 Anno 1710, for the further Supply and Be-  
 nefit of the Christians in the *Levant*; and  
 that at *Hall* in *Germany*, to which Mr. *Franck*,  
 Professor in that University, has wrote a  
 preface. This useful Work was happily  
 effected under the auspicious Patronage of  
 her Majesty, the now Queen Dowager of  
*russia*, who as she bears a singular regard  
 to the Churches of the *East*, so she gene-  
 rously bore the Charge of this new Impres-  
 sion; and thereby endeavoured to answer  
 that Royal Law, which loves to act in a  
 sphere most ample and universal.

By

By the Means of the Impression of the New Testament, he had a fair Opportunity offer'd him to keep up a Correspondence with his Friends among the *Greeks*: However, the distributing of this Book was to be manag'd with Care and Circumspection;—since some Prelates of that Church as great Pretenders to a primitive Christianity as any of our Western Churches can be, and consequently unwilling to learn of others. He corresponded with them in their own Language. The same he did with other Nations, and he did not like to make use of an Interpreter, if possibly he could help it. He said, Words lose a great deal of their native Beauty and Energy, they must pass through other Vehicles before they reach the Ear of the Person to whom they are directed.

After his return from the *Levant* he was often wish'd, that the Protestant Powers of *Europe* would settle a sort of College at *Jerusalem*, and in some degree imitate the great Zeal of the Papists, who spare neither Cost nor Pains to propagate their Religion every where: But then he wish'd so, that such Men as were design'd to be in that College, were duly qualified for spreading the Gospel of Christ, and endow'd with a Sense of universal Love and Benevolence; for, said he, many propagate their own particular Schemes, and take this for the Gospel of Christ. He wish'd also, for this Purpose these three Languages, *Greek*, *Arabick* and *Turkish* were attain'd before they did go thither.

What induced a great Number of *Palatines* in the Year 1709, to quit their native Country, and by whom, and for what Reason they were encouraged to come over in such Shoals into *England*, we shall not make the Subject of our Inquiry in this Place: Among the Commissioners appointed by her Majesty to manage the Charities of her Subjects towards these unhappy Strangers, and to find out Ways to Imploy them to the best Advantage, I find Mr. *Henry William Ludolph*; who was ever zealous to do good unto all Men, and more especially to these his distress'd Countrymen; whose Condition he very much Commiserated, and whose Welfare he had very much at Heart, as indeed he had the whole State of Mankind, as long as he remain'd in his earthly Tabernacle of Clay, which was dissolv'd on the 25th day of *January* this Year.

Mr. *Ludolph* was a Man of universal Love, and look'd upon the Broils and Contentions of the differing Parties of *Christendom*, as Judgments of God, which are like to overturn all the Schemes in time, and to reduce 'em to a Chaos. 'Tis remarkable, that at his Death he left two small Legacies to two *Jews*, to whom he bore a singular Love and Esteem; which as it may seem somewhat strange in the Eyes of some, who confine their Charity to one sort of People only; so it left a very good Impression upon the said *Jews*, who, at the Receipt of the Money, wished a thousand Blessings to the deceas'd. If Love and Charity be the Character and Badge of a Christian, I don't see why *Jews* should

Commissioners for the Palatines 1709.

His Death.

A remarkable Legacy left by him.

should be altogether excluded from it ;  
ing they will be call'd into the Church a  
after the fulness of the Gentiles is com

*His Works.* His Works are these, besides the *Musi*  
Grammar already mention'd ; 1. *Medit*  
*upon Retirement from the World.* 2. Also  
divers Subjects tending to promote th  
ward Life of Faith, &c. 3. *Consider*  
*on the Interest of the Church universal.*  
*Proposal for promoting the Cause of Religi*  
*the Churches of the Levant.* 5. *Reflection*  
*the Present of State of the Christian Cl*  
6. *A Homily of Macarius*, done out of (   
some of them were printed singly, and  
them together, *Anno 1712* ; as also his  
neral Sermon preach'd by Mr. B  
Chaplain to the late Prince *George of*  
*mark*, which worthy Divine supply'd  
with a great Part of these Memoirs, a  
another very good Friend of mine, Dr.  
*derick Slare* with most of the rest, who  
one of the oldest Acquaintance Mr. Lu  
had in *England*.





MEMOIRS  
OF  
RICHARD,  
Earl of RANELAGH.



THE Founder of this Family Roger I take to be Dr. *Thomas Jones*, <sup>Jones Ba-  
ron of Cavan</sup> Archbishop of *Dublin*, Lord Chancellor, and twice one of the Lords Justices of *Ireland*, in 1613 and 1615; and the first who was Dignified with the Peerage was *Roger Jones*, created Lord Baron of *Cavan*, who improving in the Favour of his Prince, King *Charles I.* was by Letters Patent, dated *August 25, 1628, Anno 4 Car. 1.* <sup>Viscount Ranelagh 1628.</sup> advanced to the Title of Viscount *Ranelagh* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: He was also honoured with the high Trust of a Privy Counsellor in that Kingdom, and the *Irish* Rebels, after the most horrid Massacre made by



by them of the poor Protestants in Country, having the Audaciousness to tend that what they did was by the King's Commission; there was a Proclamation sued out by the Lords Justices, Sir *Parsons* and Sir *John Borlace*, to obviate Calumny; it bore date on the 30th of *ber* 1641, and I find the Lord *Ran* to be the second Person that signed it

*His Marriage.* The future Actions, and the time of Death of this noble Lord, I cannot be cise in: He married *Elizabeth*, third youngest Daughter, and Coheir of *Lord Willoughby of Parham*.

*Richard Jones.* By this Lady he left Issue *Richard* count *Ranelagh*, his Son and Heir; who ing a Person of very good Parts, and skilled in the Art of Courts; was *Made Earl of Ranelagh* 1681, in the 33d Year of the Reig King *Charles II.* advanced to the Dign Earl of *Ranelagh*. If I mistake not, he Pay-master of the Forces on the *Iry* stablishment for some time in that and succeeding Reign.

*Member of the Convention 1689.* My Lord *Ranelagh*, In the Conve that met at the Revolution, was elect Member to serve for the Borough of *town in Hampshire*; and I find his among the Number of those who were gainst advancing the Prince of *Oran* the Throne of *England*; but which soever he manag'd his Affairs, he soon at Home at Court, and made Pay-M General of the Army, Guards and C sons, as also first Commissioner of C College: Growing more and more int

your, his Majesty, about the end of April <sup>Made a</sup> 1692, before he went over for *Holland*, <sup>Privy-Counsellor.</sup> was pleased to appoint the Earl of *Ranelagh* to be sworn of his Privy-Council: <sup>1692.</sup> The Earl of *Rochester*, the Lord *Cornwallis*, and Sir *Edward Seymour* being also sworn at the same time.

His Lordship continued to be of the Privy-Council for the rest of that Reign, and in great favour with his Majesty, whom he often diverted with his witty Sayings, <sup>Buildings,</sup> Jestes and Sarcasms: But the great Profits of his Place, his sumptuous House and delicious Gardens at *Chelsea*, to say nothing of the House he built adjoining to the Horse Guards, created him some Envy; and he was now and then peck'd at in Parliament, principally upon the score of passing his Accounts, tho' he weather'd all the Storms of that Reign.

But some time after King *William's* Death, <sup>Proceed-</sup> her present Majesty having convened a new <sup>ings in</sup> Parliament, they made a strict Inquiry into the Earl's Accounts, as Pay-master-General of the Army, and having received the <sup>Parliament a-</sup> <sup>gainst him</sup> <sup>1702.</sup> Proofs of the Commissioners of Accounts, to the remaining Articles, in their Narrative or Representation, and of the Earl's Answer also to the same; and when both Parties had been heard thereunto, the House resolved *Nemine Contradicente*, that it appear'd to them, that the Commissioners appointed by Parliament for taking, examining and stating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom, had had very good Grounds for their making Observations in their Narrative

tive or Representation laid before the Ho that all Money issued to the Pay-Ma General of the Army, ought to be app to the use of the Army and Forces c and no other Purpose whatsoever ; tha Privy-Seals, Orders of the Treasury, o ther Warrants to the Pay-Master-Gen of the Army; to apply the Money in Hands to other than the use of the A and Forces, were illegal and void ; tha Privy-Seals or Warrants to the Audito the Impress, to pass Accompts without per Vouchers, or to make any Allowa other than according to the Law and Co of the Exchequer, were illegal and v that the seven Commissioners had made g their Allegations in their Narrative or presentation ; and lastly, that it appe to the House, that the Pay-Master-Ger had misapplied several Sums of the Pul Money.

*Voted  
guilty of  
high  
Crimes.*

*Expelled  
the House,  
&c.*

The Consequence of this was first a of the House, making the Earl guilty of Crimes and Misdemeanors, in misappl several Sums of Money as Pay-Master ; they were pleased to expel him their Ho and order him to be prosecuted by the torney-General.

I might have taken notice before, his Lordship having lost his Places, were divided, *John How*, Esq; towards beginning of *January 1703*, being Confl ted Receiver and Pay-Master-General of Guards and Garrisons, and of *Chelsea Ho* tal, of which he became also first Com sioners of Course in his Lordship's Ro

and *Charles Fox*, Esq; was made Pay-Master-General of the Forces Abroad.

His Lordship having made a shift to hold up his Head, and ward off any effectual Prosecution as long as that Parliament lasted: It might have been expected that the succeeding ones, by the Current of the Elections, might shew themselves more favourably disposed towards him: Be it as it will, he found himself in the Summer of 1708, so hard press'd, that he was oblig'd to use all his Address to, and Interest in the Treasury, to get a Warrant from thence for the stopping Process, a Copy of which Warrant here follows;

After, &c. Whereas my very good <sup>Treasury</sup> Lord *Richard* Earl of *Ranelagh* hath, <sup>Warrant</sup> by his Memorial, set forth, that his Account as late Paymaster of the Forces <sup>to stop</sup> to *Christmas*, 1701, are pass'd, and that <sup>Process</sup> his final Account to *Christmas*, 1702, will <sup>ings a</sup> be ready for Declaration, as soon as the <sup>gainst</sup> Auditors of the Imprests have made their Report as to several Sums crav'd by his Lordship to be allow'd in the said Account, and hath therefore pray'd that Process against him may be staid. And where- as the said Auditors have certify'd me, that his Lordship and his Agents have promised to answer divers Queries made by them, relating to his final Account, by the beginning of next *Michaelmas* Term, and to prosecute the same till it be pass'd with all possible Diligence. These are to

P authorize

' authorize and require you to forb  
 ' suing forth any Proceſs againſt th  
 ' Earl of *Ranelagh*, for his ſaid Ac  
 ' until the firſt Day of *Michaelmas*  
 ' And if any Proceſs be already iſſued  
 ' are forthwith to ſuperſede the  
 ' But in caſe his Lordſhip's Ac  
 ' are not paſſ'd by that time, yo  
 ' then to iſſue Proceſs without f  
 ' Order. For which this ſhall be  
 ' Warrant. *Windſor-Caſtle*, the 2d o  
 ' guſt, 1708.

*To the Queen's Remembrancer      God*  
*in the Exchequer, or his De-*  
*puty.*

*His Death.* The Earl was now grown old  
 unweildy in Body, tho' his Intelle  
 , were ſtill ſound till Death came  
 the 5th day of *January*, to ſummon  
 to remove from hence into another  
 unknown to us, and therefore we can ſ  
 thing of it.

*His Mar-* This noble Earl took to his firſt  
*riages and* (as I take it) the Lady——*Boyle*  
*Issue.* of the Daughters of *Richard* Earl of  
 in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Siſt  
 that Great and truly Chriſtian Pl  
 pher, the Honourable *Robert Boyle* ;  
 having lived with her many Years, d  
 ed this Life on the the 30th of *Dec*  
*ber* 1691, and that good Lady, ab  
 Week after, and became the Fat

three Daughters, all of them living at this time, *viz.* the Countess Dowager of Kildare, the Lady Coningsby, Wife to Thomas Lord Coningsby of Clanbrasil in Ireland, who succeeded his Father as Pay-Master of the Forces in that Kingdom; and the Lady Catherine Jones, a Maiden. His Lordship having buried his first Lady, he married to his second Wife, the Lady Margaret, fourth Daughter of James Earl of Salisbury, and the Widow and Relict of John Lord Stawell, elder Brother to William, now Lord Stawell; a Lady no less Celebrated for her Vertue, than her Beauty, and is now his Widow, but he left no Children by her.

How severe soever the Commons were *Vote of* for a while upon the Earl in his Life time, his Friends, after his decease, *the Commons in* procured the following Vote of the House of Commons in his favour, on the 12th of May 1712. ‘ Resolved, That if it shall appear to her Majesty by the proper Officers, that the Payments have been actually made by the Earl of Ranelagh deceased, late Pay-Master of her Majesty’s Forces; which are contained in the Draught of a Privy-Seal, for making him Allowance in his Accounts, and that the Money was applied to the Services for which the same were given; that then the Executors or Administrators of the late Earl of Ranelagh, have a Right to such a Privy-Seal. *his favour.*

He made a very long Will, which in the Opinion of some, looks to be whimsical in some Respects. As for his fine House and Gardens at *Chelsea*, his Executrix the Lady *Catherine* Petition'd the Parliament for an Act to have it sold for the Payment of Debts.





# MEMOIRS

OF

A N D R E W,

Cardinal de Santa Croce.



A N D R E W de Santa Croce, His Birth. Cardinal Priest, was born at Rome on the 22d of November, in the Year 1656. Being a Cadet of the noble Roman Family of Santa Croce, and consequently of a narrow Fortune, his Friends judged the best way to provide for him in the Church; and therefore having given him Education accordingly, he put himself in Prelature, under the Pontificate of Clement X. who at first made him a Reporter of Causes in the Courts of Appeals, called *First Pre-Segnatura di Giustizia*; as also in the Courts of Requests, known by the Name of *Segnatura di Gratia*: But this not satisfying his aspiring



Made Go-  
vernour of  
Tivoli.

Vice-Le-  
gate of  
Bologna.

aspiring Genius, *Santa Croce*, in order to acquire more Experience in the Affairs of the World, and to advance his Fortunes, procured one of those petty Governours from which Prelates are gradually advanced to higher Posts in the Church; and at first setting out he was sent Governour of *Tivoli* (anciently called *Tibur*) in *Campagna di Roma*: He behaved himself so well in this Post, and indeed in all other Places whither he was sent Governour, and acquired the popular Applause to such a degree that *Innocent XI.* sent him to be Vice-Legate of *Bologna*, in the time that Cardinal *Pignatelli* was Legate. But *Pignatelli* found him diligent and active in nothing so much as in gallanting the Ladies, he conceived a mean Opinion of his Judgment; and said of him in all Companies, *That Santa Croce was nothing that was good in him, except a fair Hand; which was a Qualification he did not but have naturally, and by Instinct, he had been born a Gentleman.*

When *Alexander VIII.* mounted St. Peter's Chair, which he did on the 16th of October 1689, he took from *Anthony, Marchese de Santa Croce*, the Cardinal's Brother, the Place of Captain of the Pope's Light Horse, and at the Request of some Cardinals (in this Matter was transacted and agreed in the Conclave) conferred it on the Marquis *Astalli*, Brother to the Cardinal of that Name, and afterwards Legate of *Avignon*: But the old Pope having, at the same time, entertained some Apprehensions, of his having turned out the Marquis's

out any Crimes, but merely at the Request of others, might be a means to perpetuate a Grudge between that Family and his own, which was that of *Ottoboni*, he thought it adviseable to advance Monsieur *Santa Croce* to some Honourable and Advantageous Post, that he might thereby make some Reparation for the Injury his Brother supposed had been done to him; and therefore he sent him to be his Nuncio in *Poland*, where he obtained good Reputation: He did not live there extravagantly, but yet so as his low Circumstances could not well afford. He seem'd at first to have some Dependence upon his Brother for Support; but he found the Marquess so close-fisted that at last he was forced to sell some part of his Patrimony, that he might have where withal to supply the necessary Expence of his Nunciature.

Nuncio in  
Poland.

*Tanara*, who was at that time Nuncio at the Court of *Vienna*, being made a Cardinal, *Santa Croce* put in his just Claim to succeed him in that Post; but he had much difficulty to obtain it of *Innocent XII.* then in the Papal Chair, by reason of the ill Opinion he had entertained of him when he was Vice-Legate of *Ferrara*, as we have observed before: For it was Cardinal *Pignatelli* that was advanced to the Papacy, and assumed the Name in remembrance of *Innocent XI.* who had promoted him to the Dignity of a Cardinal: And all his Endeavours had in all probability been fruitless, had it not been for the Marquess his Brother, whose Interest proved so powerful with Count *Martinitz*, who was then newly come to re-

*Mide  
Nuncio at  
the Court  
of Vienna.*

side at the Court of *Rome*, with the Character of Ambassador from his Imperial Majesty *Leopold*, that he by his pressing Solicitations to the Pope, procured him to be named to the Nunciature at *Vienna*.

*Involved  
in the  
Quarrel  
between  
the Marchioness  
of Santa  
Croce, and  
the Countess  
of Martinitz.*

But it so fell out, that the Jars and Contentions which happened between the Prince of the College of Cardinals, and Count *Martin* unluckily arose during the Nunciature at *Santa Croce* at the Court of *Vienna*; upon which Occasion the Nuncio, to shew his gratitude to his Benefactor, lest nothing should be done to thwart his Pretensions, and the principal Excuse, if it should be any, was the famous Quarrel, which his Sister-in-Law the Marchioness of *Santa Croce*, had with the Countess of *Martinitz*, the Ambassador's Lady. The Marchioness frequenting the Assemblies which were held at the House of the Imperial Ambassador; she was observed several times to pull her Seat in before the other Ladies of Quality that were there. Now this being interpreted to be an Intimation in her, to have the Preference before all the rest: The Countess of *Martinitz*, under this Pretence, gave Order to the Marquess of *Rossi*, her Master of the Ceremonies, the first time the Marchioness came thither again, to nail her Chair to the Floor, that she might not be able to move. This offended the haughty Spirit of the Marchioness to a degree not easily to be appeas'd, she taking it as the greatest affront to her dignity that possibly could be offer'd her.

Count *Martinitz* going afterwards to the Court of *Vienna*, to justify himself as to the Imprisonment and Poisoning of the Valet de Chambre of Count *Fibia*, his Master of the Horse, who was charg'd with having attempted to poyson the Ambassadors, and all the Family; and meeting the Nuncio at Court, he would not as much as speak to, or take any manner of Notice of him: But on the contrary, endeavour'd strenuously to exasperate the Emperor against him, and so put him quite out of his Esteem. Neither did he rest here, but after his return to the Court of *Rome*, frequently wrote pressing and importunate Letters to his Imperial Majesty, to refuse to give the Nuncio Audience, as the Pope had deny'd it him; the Count being very well appriz'd, that the least Misunderstanding between the Imperial Court and the Nuncio, would be cause sufficient to have him recalled: But all the Count's endeavours prov'd of no Effect; for the Emperor could never be brought to give way to his Sollicitations, but always gave the Nuncio a favourable Audience.

*Santa Croce* did not gain more Reputation by his Conduct upon other Accounts at the Court of *Vienna*, than he lost, when the Pope was advertised by other Nuncios of the Resolution taken in the Diet of *Raisbonne*, to publish a general Edict against the Barons that were Subjects of the Ecclesiastical State, obliging them, under the penalty of being disseized of their Fees, to acknowledge the Imperial Treasury for their Sovereign

Sovereign Lord and Master : The Edict accordingly put in Execution ; the *Ad Dominicus*, the Emperor's Agent at Court of *Rome*, giving Intimation of it to Prince *Augustin Cbigi*, and the Imperial bassador, Count *Martinitz*, making Co of it to be affix'd in all Places : And the Nuncio *Santa Croce* had never able to make any Discovery of the Ma at *Vienna*.

*Excused.* All the Excuse that was alledged in behalf for this Neglect was this ; that was not able to be at the charge of keeping a splendid and magnificent Table thing absolutely necessary for the Nun residing at the Imperial Court ; if they were to penetrate into the secret Designs and combinations there on foot ; seeing, says Author, there is no Court in the World where the Mysteries and Intrigues of State may be more easily penetrated into, than the Court of *Vienna*, their Secrets being up in the Discretion of their Wine.

*Pope dissatisfied with him.*

Pope, upon the occasion of this Mismanagement of the Nuncio, had the Artifice, for present, to order his Brother the Marquis *de Santa Croce*, to assign him certain Sum of Money, wherewith he might be enabled to defray the Charges of his Nunciature ; having a design to recall him from his Employment in a little time, and even without having any manner of Regard to the sixty thousand Crowns and upwards, which he had spent in his two Nunciatures.

Nei

Nevertheless, the Politicians would have <sup>The rea-</sup> it, that the principal Reason of the Pope's <sup>son of it.</sup> displeasure with *Santa Croce*, did not arise from any personal Defect in the Nuncio, but to a secret Grudge which he bore to the Marquess, the other Brother; for at the time that the Marquess was Captain of the Light-Horse, and *Innocent XII.* otherwise known by the Name of Cardinal *Pignatelli* was Chamberlain of the Household to *Innocent XI.* the Marquess was wont to play upon and mimic him in all Companies: This coming to be understood by the other, he sent one to complain of the ill Usage to the Marquess; and particularly that he had publicly mimick'd him at Cardinal *Matter's* House, representing him as a Rustick or Country Clown, and Counterfeiting all the Gestures he used, when busied about the Affairs of the Anti-Chamber: But it seems he received so little Satisfaction therein, that it stuck to him since, and he could not forget it, even after he came to the Papacy.

But the Emperor *Leopold* having enter- <sup>Made a</sup> tained a very great Esteem for *Santa Croce*, <sup>Cardinal-</sup> diverted at length the Prejudices of the Pope, and pressed his Promotion so earnestly, that *Innocent XII* was on the 14th of *November 1699*, induced to advance him to the Dignity of a Cardinal; and the truth of it is, he deserved a Cardinal's Cap as well, if not better, than any of the other Nuncio's, considering the great Services he had done the See of *Rome* at the Imperial Court; he having obtained all manner of Satisfaction to the Pope from the Emperor, and

and even got him to send a new Ambassador to his Holiness, and to recall the other, who could by no means be accepted to the old Father.

*Received kindly by the Pope.*

When the new Cardinal came to the Pope immediately received him with great Demonstrations of Joy, and in a different Manner from the mean Opinion his Holiness had always conceived of him, for he now perfectly caressed him, and paid him great Complements upon his Promotion; and at the same time gave him several Abbeys, to the value of four thousand Crowns a Year. The Emperor was as much pleased with his Advancement as the Pope, and regaled him with considerable Presents.

*Death and Age.*

The Cardinal lived the remainder of his Days in great Ease and Splendor till Death overtook him with a sudden stroke in the Month of *May*, in the 57th Year of his Age, and his Death made an eight years vacancy in the sacred College.

*Character*

The Cardinal was a well-bred Man, pleasant, chearful and cordial; he was of a free and easy Behaviour in Conversation, and well instructed in the Interests of Princes, but with a natural defect of Stammering sometimes in his Speech. Some Criticks indeed accused him of being haughty, ignorant and presumptuous; but those who were well acquainted with him, found him to be quite different; and indeed that Charge lay much more justly against the Marquess his Brother, and against his Nephew, who besides that the Brother was sordidly covetous, both of them were in the Vice of Pride, to the discredit

their Family, which, in the Rank of private Gentlemen, is highly considerable both for Quality and Estate; it being one of the Richest as well as one of the most Conspicuous Families in *Rome*.

The Cardinal left no Will but an old one, *Will*, which he had made during his Nunciature in *Poland* (since which the State of his Affairs had been very much improved) and the Heir nominated therein being dead before him; is uncertain yet who will inherit his Estate.







# MEMOIR

OF THE

## FAMILY

OF

## S A V A G

## Earls RIVER

*The origin  
of the  
Title of  
Rivers.*



THE Title of Earl River  
a different Nature from  
if not all the rest of  
*land*, those being local  
of Earl Marshal exce  
which is officary) and th  
minal (as were lately made those of Earls  
and *Ferrers*) those taking their Deno  
tion from some special Place, and this  
an illustrious Family. The ancient Nam  
*Redvers*, or *De Riparijs*, and thence contr

to *Rivers*: They were First but Barons of *Plimpton* in the Country of *Devon*, after which they came to be Earls of *Devonshire*; which Title Eight of them enjoy'd successively; and then the Male line failing, the name and Patrimony both were lost among the Females or Heirs General. From these, 'tis supposed, came Sir *Richard Widvile*, whom first King *Henry VI.* advanced to the Title of Lord *Rivers*, and afterwards *Edward IV.* Marrying his Daughter, advanced him Higher and made him Earl *Rivers*, Lord Treasurer and Lord Constable of *England*. This Title ending in the Illd Earl of this Name and Family, was since again Revived in the illustrious House of *Darcie*, from whom it came to the *Savages*, this last deriving a Descent thereto by the line of *Worcester* and *Huntington* from one of the Daughters and Coheirs of the first Earl *Rivers*.

But to come more peticularly to the family of *Savage*, their principal Seat for many Ages has been partly at the Castle of *Frodsham* in *Cheshire*, and partly at another Noble House, built of latter time at *Clifton* on the oppolite side of the River *Wever*, called *Rock-Savage*; of which there have been divers Knights of the Name of *John*, one of which was the Father of *Thomas* likewise a Knight who was created a Baronet in the 9th of King *James I.* and married *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter and at length Coheir to *Thomas* Lord *Darcie* of *Chich* in *Essex*: Upon the Advancement of which Lord *Darcie*, to the dignity of Viscount *Colchester*, in the 19th of *James I.* he obtained that Title of Honour

Seat of  
the Savage  
Family.

Sir Tho-  
mas Sa-  
vage.

to

*Has the  
Reversion  
of the  
Earldom  
of Rivers.*

to himself, and to the Heir Male of his in Reversion, after the Death of the *Thomas Lord Darcy*, without issue Male had likewise in the second year of King *Cl* I. by another Patent bearing Date the *Fc* of *November* the dignity of Earl of *River*. ter the decease of the Viscount *Colchester*, was then advanced to that Degree.

*His Issue.*

*John Sa-  
vage be-  
came Earl  
Rivers.  
1639.*

*Thomas  
Earl Ri-  
vers.*

*Marriage  
and Issue.*

*Thomas* by *Elizabeth* his Wife had 1 Sons and departing this Life in 1635 was succeeded by his eldest son *John*, wh the Death of *Thomas Darcie*, Earl *Rive* 1639, enjoyed that Title; and dying in 1 He was succeeded both in Honour and E by his eldest Son *Thomas Earl Rivers*, took to Wife *Elizabeth* one of the Na Daughters of *Emanuel Lord Scroop* of *R* Lord President of the *North* and Earl of *derland*, by whom he had Issue, *Thomas* 1 *Cholchester* and *Richard*; and two Daugh *Elizabeth* living unmarried; and *Ann*. Married to Sir *Erasmus Norwich* of *Brav* in the County of *Northampton*, who is dead without Issue. To his second Wif Married the Lady *Arabella*, only Chil *Robert*, late Earl of *Lindsey*, by his first *Mary*, Daughter and Coheir to *John Mayberd*, of the City of *London*, Merchant of *East-India-Company*, and dying in the 1694, after he had been Forty Years *Rivers* left her a Widdow without Child This Earl was educated in the Religion of Church of *Rome*, as were all his Family continued of that Communion till a little fore or about the time of the Breaking of

the Popist Plot in 1678, when he renounced <sup>Turns</sup> Popery and become a Member of the Church <sup>Protestants</sup> of England: He was a Promoter of the Revolution in 1688, with his good Wilhes; I dare not adventure to say with his Purse, he being much more Tenacious than became his Quality and the Largeness of his Fortune: At the same time I must not overlook the Generosity of his surviving Lady, who is Benificent to all, gives abundance of good Books away yearly, and does other Charities without number.

So zealously affected she is for the publick <sup>Lady Rivers</sup> Good, that she impowers her Steward upon all <sup>Chatter.</sup> rejoycing Days to treat his Friends without Limitation.

Having mentioned the Earl's two Sons; <sup>Thomas</sup> we are to observe that *Thomas* Lord *Colchester* <sup>Lord Colchester.</sup> the elder, dying in the Life time of his Father, left Issue by *Charlotta* his Wife, Daughter to *Charles* Earl of *Derby*, one Daughter named *Charlotte*, who dyed unmarried: So that he was succeeded by his only surviving Son *Richard*, Lord *Colchester*; who betaking him-<sup>Richard</sup> self to a Military Life, in the Reign of King <sup>Lord Colchester</sup> *James II.* was made Lieutenant Colonel to the Fourth Troop of Guards, constituted by that Prince, and Commanded by the Lord <sup>Lieutenant Colonel to the</sup> *Dover* a Papist; but having a much greater <sup>Lord Colchester</sup> Affection for Protestantism and the Liberty <sup>ver.</sup> of his Country; than the wicked Designs then on foot for the Subversion of both; he took his opportunity to leave King *James* at *Salisbury*, and together with Mr. *Wharton*, now Earl of *Wharton*, Colonel *Godfrey*, *James* Esquire with some Life-Guards of his Troop

Troop and about Threescore more Men Horse-back, went over to the Prince of Orange.

*A Member or  
Liverpool  
1689.*

Having embarked thus far in the Common Cause, when the Prince of Orange issued his circular Letters to call a Convention the Settlement of the Nation, now with a head by King James his withdrawing self into France, he was elected a Member for the Borough of *Liverpool* in County of *Lancaster*, and one of those voted for advancing the Prince of Orange to the Throne.

The Government being Settled, the King dismissed the Fourth Troop of Guards, an Innovation, reducing them to Three as before or if you will the *Duchess* Troop came in Stead: Now Sir *John Fenwick*, who was Colonel of the Regiment of Horse, raised in James's time by *Thomas Earl of Plymouth* falling in with the new Establishment His Majesty was pleased to Confer that Command upon my Lord *Colchester*.

*His Campaigns.*

His Majesty having resolved to go in Person to head his Army in *Ireland* in 1690, the first and third Troops of Guards attended him thither: My Lord *Colchester* behaved himself on all occasions extremely well in the Course of this Campaign; after which those Troops returning to *England*, where having Guarded Her Majesty Queen *Marie*, during the Campaign of 1691, which His Majesty made in *Flanders*, they were Transported thither the next Year; when his Lordship advantageously served daily in Military Commands had before the End of that War, The degree of Lieutenant General

Ge

General conferred upon him. In the mean time King *James* having concerted his Measures for the Invasion of *England*, in the Spring of the Year 1692. He first thought fit to issue out his Declaration, and it seems my Lord *Colchester* deserting of him in the *West*, did so stick to him, that he thought fit, among other Noblemen, to except him out of his Pardon: The others were the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Leeds*, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Clarendon*: The late and present Dukes of *Bolton*, the late Earl of *Sunderland*, the now Duke of *Leeds*, *John* Earl of *Bath*, the Bishops of *London* and *St. Asaph*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, Sir *James Oxenden*, Sir *Charles Duncomb*, and some others. It is somewhat singular, that my Lord *Marlborough* should be now out of favour both with the Courts of *Kensington* and *St. Germans*, insomuch that all his Posts were taken from him in *England*; his third Troop of Horse-Guards was given to my Lord *Colchester*. If I am not mistaken, his Lordship was sick at *Brussels* when the Battle of *Landen* was fought in 1693.

The next Year his Father giving way to Fate, he came to the Honour and Estate of Earl *Rivers*, and some time after engag'd in a Law Suit with the Lady his Mother-in-Law, which was expensive to them both, and ended at last by an amicable Accommodation between themselves: His Lordship upon his Accession to so plentiful an Estate, growing a mighty Husband, and perhaps discovering too much of the Father's niggardly and penurious Temper, the World

*Anyouth-  
ful Mis-  
adventure.*

had Invidiousness enough to keep up Remembrance of his former Extravagance and particularly could not forget one adventure of his younger Years; for when he was Nick-nam'd, either by his Father or some Body else, *Tyburn Dick*: The finess in a Word was this, that being Necessitous, and applying to his Father in the Evening, in the presence of a Gentleman brought along with him, for some Supper to procure him Necessaries, with so much Success, that the old Earl protested he would give no Money by him: He went himself the next Day, being *Sunday* afternoon, and his Father was at Church, to his House, and the Door was open upon his knocking, and being known, he was readily open'd to him by a Servant who was alone in the House, and having no manner of suspicion of his Design; he took his way to his Father's Closet, took out the Money he had occasion for, and returned it. The old Earl missing his Cash, and sitting upon enquiry no Body had been in the House but his Son; he would have the Chief Justice grant a Warrant for his apprehension, but the other replying, *Thy Lord Colchester was not a Peer, yet his eldest Son, and therefore he would not send for him; and that if he refused to do so, it would be then time to grant his Warrant.* My Lord Colchester appearing, and charged with, and interrogated about the Fact, deny'd the whole, and brought a Friend to testify what the Earl had said to him on *Saturday* in the Evening, about having no Money in the House. When

what was alledg'd in his behalf was of any great weight in it self, is not very material; the Judge was willing to interpret every thing in favour of him, and dismiss'd him; and all the Artifice the old Earl could use to get part of the Money back again, or even a Treat out of him for it, could never bring him to a Confession, and so the Matter ended.

My Lord *Rivers*, in the Campaign of 1695:

1695, while King *William* was employ'd in the Siege of *Namur*, shar'd in the Glory of the famous Retreat made by the Prince of *Taudemont*, from the *Mareschal de Villeroy*: His Lordship serv'd in the *Netherlands* in the first Year of this War, but a Debate arising 1702.

in the House of Lords the ensuing Winter, about the Annuity to be settled on the Prince of *Denmark*, in case he should survive her Majesty; my Lord *Rivers* alledg'd, that 50000 *l.* per Annum was sufficient, and 100000 *l.* a great deal too much: By this soon perceiving he had drawn upon himself

the Discountenance of the Court, he obtain'd the Liberty to part with his Troop *Parts* of Guards upon such Terms as he could best *with his* make with *Charles*, Earl of *Arran*, who still *Troop of* enjoys that Post. He was a great Stickler *Guards.*

against the Occasional Conformity Bill; but the Whig-Interest beginning in 1704, to get the Ascendency at Court, her Majesty in *Made Ld.* March 1705, was pleas'd to make the Earl *Lieute-* Lord Lieutenant, *Custos Rotulorum*, and Vice-*nant of* Admiral of the Coast of *Essex.* *Essex.* of *Francis* Lord *Guilford*.



Com-  
mander in  
Chief on  
an Expe-  
dition  
1796.

The Earl being now much in favour, Majesty next Year was pleased to make General of the Horse, a Privy Counsellor as also Commander in Chief on a private Expedition: It was generally supposed Design was to make a Descent somewhere on the South West Part of France. I inform'd, says a late Author, that this a Summer's Project form'd in the absence of the Duke of Marlborough, carried on against his Approbation, and designed to give my Rivers, what he very much solicited, something, and Employments more: Be that as it will, after the Fleet had been detained for a long while Wind-bound in Toulon, they sailed to the French Coast, where they were prevented by the Enemy, and so unable to put their Design in Execution. The Earl had Orders to sail with those Forces for Portugal, where happily arriving at a time when their King Don Pedro II. he did not a little contribute to assist the new Prince there to keep tight to his Allies.

Sails to  
Alicant,  
and re-  
turns.

From Lisbon his Lordship sailed with the Troops for Alicante, to reinforce the Army Commanded by the Earl of Galloway: was it seems left at his Liberty to choose to and take the chief Command of the Army upon him, which Galloway offered to resign to him, or to return to his own Country which he chose to do; as did also the Earl of Essex, who was next in Command to him, and who departing this Year in the beginning of the Year 1710,

*Rivers* was made Constable of the Tower of <sup>Made</sup> London, and Lord Lieutenant of the Tower <sup>Constable</sup> Hamlets in his Room. <sup>of the</sup> Tower, 1710.

The Business of Dr. *Sacheverel*, to whose Cause he shew'd himself in the Course of the Tryal to be no Friend, coming on apace, the great Changes that ensu'd thereupon at Court, it seems, wrought a Change in his Lordship's Mind, as to the Cause and Interest of Whig and Tory, he siding now with the last; not only contrary to the Expectations, but even to the Surprize of the other Party. His Lordship, by the Confession of some of his Enemies, had a good <sup>Envoy to</sup> Head-piece; which being not unknown to <sup>Hanover.</sup> those who now had the Direction of publick Affairs, he was pitch'd upon as the fittest Person to go over to the Court of *Hanover*, to satisfy that illustrious Family, in reference to the Changes lately made, which would be no way prejudicial to the Succession. He had afterwards the Character of Minister and Plenipotentiary to that Court conferred upon him. How far his Lordship prevailed with the Elector to approve of the Measures on foot, no where appears: it should seem by the subsequent Conduct of that Prince, that he was not entirely of his Lordship's Mind. It was generally then believed, that the Earl had it in his Instructions to propose the Command of the *British* Army in the *Netherlands* to the Elector; in the room of the Duke of *Marlborough*; but the publick in some time took occasion to undeceive us as to that Particular.

His Lordship left that Court with seeming Satisfaction on both Sides, after his Return, was constant in his attendance in Council, and at Court, Arts of which he was no stranger. His Lordship had for some Years been General of the Horse, and consequently had the very next Post to of Captain-General: But tho' upon the carding of the Duke of *Marlborough* he was appointed of that Command; nevertheless found his Account in it, for he had his of Master-General of the Ordinance conferred upon him in the beginning of the 1712. About the same time, the 1 of *Ormond* being declared Captain-General, and having the Command of the Regiment of Foot-Guards bestow'd on him, the Duke of *Northumberland* was Captain and Colonel of the second Troop of Horse-Guards; a Post he formerly joy'd in the Reign of King *Charles* King *James* the Second, and his Regiment of Horse, formerly *Oxford's*, was conferred upon my Lord *Rivers*. Being preferred and honoured, Master of a very plentiful Fortune, and having, at a very Considerable Expence been for a time engaged in Decorating his House at *Great Elyng*, in the County of *Wiltshire*; he was, about the beginning of the Summer taken ill, and his Disorder being judg'd to be an Ulcer in his Guts, no Remedy was thought proper for him as the *Bath* Water, &c.

Master of  
the Ord-  
nance,  
1712.

Colonel of  
*Oxford's*  
Regiment.

seemed at first to do him a great deal of Good; but the Distemper returning again with more Violence upon him, it put a period to his Life on the 18th Day of August.

He married *Penelope*, the Daughter of *John Downs*, of *Wardly* in the County of *Marriage Lancaster*, Esq; and had Issue by her on- and Issue. ly one Daughter named *Elizabeth*, married some Years ago to *James Barry*, Earl of *Barrimore* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and lately Commander of Her Majesty's Forces in *Catalonia*: He had also a Son and a Daughter by his said Lady, who died young.

He is succeeded both in his Honours and the Bulk of his Estate, by *John Savage*, Esq; a Cousin of his in the third or fourth degree, some Years ago known by the Name of *Father Wilson*, a Popish Priest; which Order, it seems, he had a Dispensation to relinquish upon the Prospect of this Succession, and lived for about two Years before his Lordship died, with him at his House in *Elyng* near *Brentford*, in *Middlesex*. I am inform'd he has taken the Oath of Allegiance since he came to the Honours; some have also affirm'd, he has also abjur'd his Religion, and that he was obliged to it by the Earl's Will, or lose the Estate; but of this I assert nothing, neither will I as much as mention the Legacies left to his Natural Children, nor what share *Mrs. Coryton* has of his Fortune.

The

*His Burial*

The Corps being convey'd from *Bath* to *Elyng*, was carried from thence down to *Cheſhire*; and on the 4th of October his Funeral was ſolemnized in that State, at *Maccleſfield*, among his Anceſtors in a Chappel belonging to his Family.



MEMO



MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
Dukes of *Vendosme*,  
More particularly the  
L I F E  
O F  
*L E W I S*,  
Late Duke of *Vendosme*.



*ENDOSME* is a Town in the Province of *la Beaufe* in France, upon the *Loire*, not otherwise Considerable, but for the Earls and Dukes who have born this Title, among whom *Henry* of *Bourbon*, known afterwards by the Title of *Henry IV.* of *France*, and

**Henry Duke of Vendôme** and the Grandfather of the now King, was Duke of *Vendôme*, and King of *Navarre*.

This Prince, never famous for his tinency, having two Natural Sons beloved Mistress *Catherine*, others call *Gabriel d'Estree*, whom he dignified with Title of Dutchess of *Beaufort*; the eldest these, whose Name was *Cæsar*, he was sed to create Duke of *Vendôme*; the christen'd *Alexander*, had the Office of Prior of *France*. The King having th Legitimate Son, had once design'd this his Successor in the Crown; but the of *Lewis*, afterwards called the Thirti of *France*, having diverted those Inclina he took care to Match the Duke of *dosme* well, and so procured him in Ma age the Daughter and Heir of *Philiber manuel*, Duke of *Mercur*, (a younger B of the House of *Lorain*) possessed of and goodly Estate in the Dukedom of *tagne*, in the right of his Wife, a Dau and Heir of the House of *Martignes* (a B of the Family of those Dukcs) by mea which, *Vendôme* had not only a large ritance, but great Authority in that Cou From this Marriage came two Sons, eldest of which, in his Father's Life-bore the Title of Duke of *Mercur*, an other Duke of *Beaufort*.

**Francis Duke of Beaufort.**

**Expedi-  
tion to  
Gipry  
1664.**

*Francis de Vendôme*, Duke of *Bea* was Admiral of *France*, and in that Qu having by the King's Order, in 1664 ted up a Fleet at *Tboulon* and *Marsailles*, listing of fourteen Men of War, and

G:

lies, five Fireships, ten Brigantines, as  
 ny other Vessels, and thirty Barks, la-  
 i with Provision, Ammunition, Lime,  
 ck, and other Necessaries for Building;  
 l having in this Fleet fifteen hundred  
 men, and five thousand Land Forces on  
 ard, besides five hundred Volunteers of  
 ality: The Admiral staid at *Port Mahon*  
*Minorca*, till the Gallies of *Malta* had  
 nd him; they sail'd together for the  
 ast of *Barbary*, where they spent some  
 w Shot against *Bugie*, but to little Effect;  
 d then sail'd and anchor'd before *Gigery*,  
 out sixty Leagues Eastward of *Algiers*:  
 nd notwithstanding the Opposition made  
 the Enemy, the Admiral landed the  
 en, as also thirty pieces of Cannon; when  
 ey had rais'd three Batteries, they play'd  
 ven Days, and as many Nights, upon the  
 ace, and then made themselves Masters of  
 , with the loss only of three hundred  
 en killed and wounded. This Place was  
 bject to the Regency of *Algiers*, and the  
 l adjacent Country had plenty of Cattle; but  
 ie *Algerines* having on the other Hand  
 rawn 20000 Men together, they soon ap-  
 ear'd before the Town, and in the Night  
 tack'd a Redoubt of the Castle, but were  
 o well ply'd with the Cannon from the  
 hips, and their Works, that they drew off  
 ith great Loss; however, they came on  
 gain three Days after, before Day-light  
 nd made another furious Assault, but were  
 gain repuls'd, leaving 1000 Men killed and  
 wounded behind them. The Infidels, not  
 et discourag'd, and being reinforc'd to

40000



40000 Men, some Days after made a 1  
Assault, and carried the Redoubt ;  
pursuing their Success made themselves  
sters of the Lines and Outworks ; tho'  
Belieged made a very brave Defence :  
the Duke of *Beaufort* finding it now im-  
ble to defend the Place, the Outworks be-  
lost, shipp'd off his Men, and return'd home  
So that this Expedition to *Barbary* in  
main prov'd unfortunate to him ; howe-  
he had the dexterity to defeat the *Turks*  
*Tunis* and *Algiers*.

His Ex  
pedition  
to Candia  
1669.

There is nothing Memorable concer-  
this Duke of *Beaufort*, till about four Y  
after this, when his Highness, with  
Duke de *Noailles*, were in 1669, sent by  
*French King* with a Body of about 6  
thousand Men to assist the Republick of  
*nice* against the *Turks* in *Candia*; and 1  
fort, upon his landing there, concluding  
a Council of War, that the Town of  
*dia* was no longer to be maintain'd, but  
some extraordinary Enterprize ; they  
solv'd on the 27th day of *June* to make  
great Sally, and the brave Duke being  
willing to be a Spectator only of this  
rious Action, order'd the Fleet as near  
Shoar as might be, from thence with 1  
Cannon to annoy the Enemy as much  
possible. When the Troops were form'd  
into order, they march'd out very sile-  
in the Morning by *St. George's Gate*,  
hid their Matches : The Onset was be-  
with the dawning of the Day, and the  
nal was to be given by firing the  
*Mine Royal*, but that not going off,  
for

forlorn Hope, without any more delay, assaulted two Redoubts and took them, putting all the *Turks* therein to the Sword; whereupon the other Regiments entered the Lines, master'd the Trenches, after much Blood and Slaughter, and storm'd a Fort, whereon there was a Battery against, *St. Demetrius*, which they bravely carried and nailed up the Cannon. In the interim the *Turks* beginning to draw into order, and advancing, a terrible Fight ensu'd, and while the success seem'd doubtful, a Magazine of Powder of 134 Quintals, which was newly won by the Christians, blew up, which so amazed them, that they began in Confusion to disperse to the Right and Left, and fly, with the loss of many Men, and some considerable Officers, but more particularly the brave Duke of *Beaufort*, who was supposed to have been blown up here, tho' his Body could never be found. *Is lost*

As for *Lewis Duke of Mercœur*, who upon the decease of his Father took the Title of *Vendosme* upon him; he was born in the Year 1612, and living to the Age of about eighteen, his first Campaign he made in 1630, in the Dutchy of *Savoy*, whither he accompanied *Lewis XIII* of *France*, who soon made a Conquest of that Country: Being thus initiated in the Art of War, he was, as it were no sooner returned Home; but he went and served as a Volontier in the *Netherlands*, where he was at the fight of *Lisse* in 1631. *Vendosme*, about four Years after this, made another Campaign in *the* *plotts*. *Duke of Vendosme*  
*His Military Ex-*

the *Low Countries*; and the War still Continuing between *France* and *Spain*, he was at the Battle of *Avein* in 1635, where *Mareschals* of *Chatillon* and *Breze* Commanded against Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* (the Grandfather of Prince *Eugene*) who was at that time General of the *Spanish* Army, and here worsted and forced without his Artillery and Baggage to retire to *Namur*. Duke of *Vendosme* still pursuing his Warlike Inclinations was present at the Siege of *Corbie* in 1636. So he was Two Years after at that of *Hesden*; and the *Mareschals* of *Chatillon* and *Meilloray* having in 1640 Formed the Siege of *Arras* and pushed the same on with great Vigour; the *Cara Infanta* came in Person to relieve it, attacked the *French* lines and forced the *French* Intrenchments, but being not able to capture the Second the Place was lost. *Vendosme* was Wounded here; the King, or I should rather say, the Cardinal de *Mazarine*, conferred upon him the Government of *Burgundy*, where he regulated Affairs with Prudence; and the Year after he Married the Lady *Lucretia Mancini* the Cardinal's Niece, by whom he had *Lewis Joseph* Duke of *Vendosme*, *Philip* Prior of *France*, of the Order of *Malta*.

*Marriage  
and Issue.*

*Made a  
Cardinal.*

Having Continued in a Matrimonial State till Death took away the Dutchesse on the 10th of *February* 1657, the Duke remained a widower about ten Years; but then turned Ecclesiastick and on *March* 7th 1667, was made a Cardinal by Pope *Alexander* VII. and ever after known by the Title of C

dinal de *Vendosme*, but he did not long enjoy *Death*.  
this new Dignity, for he departed this  
Life on the 6th of *August* 1669, at *Aix* in  
*Provence*.

*Lewis Joseph*, Duke of *Vendosme*, was Born *Lewis Jo-*  
on the 30th day of *June* 1654. who, as he *seph Duke*  
grew up, being Trained in those Sciences *of Ven-*  
and manly Exercises suitable to the Great- *dosme's*  
ness of his Birth, he made his first Campaign *Birth.*  
at the Age of Eighteen in the Year 1672,  
against the *Dutch*; and no other that I can *First*  
find, during the Course of that War, which *Campaign*  
terminated with the Peace of *Nimeguen* in *1672.*  
1678.

The new War begun by *France* in 1688  
having occasioned the forming a strong Con-  
federacy against her, the Heads of which  
were the Emperor, Kings of *England* and  
*Spain*, States of *Holland*, Duke of *Savoy* &c.  
*Lewis XIV* found himself under the necessity  
of employing the best military Heads in  
*France* against such formidable Powers; a-  
mong which, it seems, the Duke of *Vendosme*  
was not reckoned, since he was not employed  
to Command till the very last Year of that  
War: But then the *Mareschal de Noailles*  
falling Sick, the King pitched upon *Ven-* *Second*  
*dosme* to Command in his Room; upon *Campaign.*  
which he set forwards and after having had  
a Conference with *Noailles* at *Perpignan*, he  
came to the Army, then within a League  
and an Half of *Gironne*. His first Expedition  
was to relieve Castle *Follit*, whose Garrison *Relieves*  
for want of Provisions was reduced to Great *Castle-*  
Extremities; and being informed that the *Follit.*  
*Spaniards* supported by the *English* and *Dutch*  
R Fleet;

*Relieves  
Palamos.*

Fleet, under Admiral *Russel*, had formed a Design to besiege *Palamos*, he marched to its Assistance with a Resolution to attack them: He possess'd the rising Grounds and the most advantageous Posts, tho' the *Spaniards* did their best to defend them. He could not attack the Confederates but by their Right and there resolv'd to begin the Battle: The *Spaniards*, during these Transactions, having Possess'd themselves of a Village before their Right by 5000 Men Landed from the Ships, the Duke did not think it proper to attack them, and retired: However having received a Reinforcement of Troops, he prepared for a second Attempt, to oblige the *Spaniards* to abandon the Siege; who fearing to be attacked at the same time that they were employ'd in it, rais'd it, and thus Contributed to give the Duke of *Vendosme* an Honour, in which their own Misunderstanding had the greatest Share.

Having succeeded herein and finding himself now at the Head of a well appointed Army, consisting of above Thirty Thousand Men and a great Train of Artillery, he projected the important Siege of *Barcelona* the Capital of that Principality; the Place was provided with a strong Garrison, the Prince of *Hesse Darmstadt* Commanded the German Forces therein; but Don *Piemente* formerly Governor of *Charleroy*, was Governor, and Don *Francisco de Velasco* the *Viceroy* with the *Spanish* Forces, to the Number of about 8000 Foot and 4000 Horse was posted behind the River *Logebrat*, to succour it: Occasion required.

The Duke invested the Place on the 12th <sup>Besieges</sup> of June, and having opened the Trenches in <sup>Barcelona</sup> the night between the 15th and 16th, they were carryed on that night within 150 Paces of the first Palisadoes; and the Troops possessed themselves of the Convents of the *Capuchins* and *Cordeliers*. We cannot pretend to enter upon a Journal of this Siege: Its certain the Garrison made a very brave Defence, and nothing could be more Glorious than the Actions performed by them on the 4th and 5th of July, wherein they twice beat the *French* out of the Lodgment they had made on the Counterscarp with a very great Slaughter; but the other having as Valiantly regain'd the Post, and the Duke wisely Considering the remaining Difficulties of this Siege, as long as the *Spanish* Army was in the Neighbourhood of the Town; he concerted Measures to Surprise them: The Marquess *de Grigni* lay with 2500 *Spanish* Horse at *Corneille* a Village about a League from the Right of the *French* Camp, Don *Michel d' Otaró* was Posted on the Hills behind the *French* Camp, with 600 Horse 1000 Foot and 3 or 4000 *Sometans*: The Horse under *Grigni*, by the Means of Fort *Monjuich* had a free Communication with the Town and Facilitated the Passage of the Convoys sent thither with Ammunition and Provisions: The Besieged had resolved on the 14th of July, at Night to make a general Sally on the Trenches of the *French*, and at the same time *Grigni* and *Otaró* were <sup>He Sur-</sup> to attack his Camp. But the Duke of *Vendosme* having Notice of all this, detached <sup>Spanish</sup> <sup>Camp.</sup>

2000 Horse, and 3000 Foot, and march with them the 13th before Day, toward *Corneille*; and at the same time he Commanded Lieutenant-General *d'Usson* 2000 Fusiliers and Grenadiers, and Horse, towards the Hills; Lieutenant-General *Barbezieres* remaining in the Camp the rest of the Forces, to maintain the Guard of the Trenches, and observe the Garrison, who Commanded the Vanguard of the Troops that were with the Duke of *Vendosme*, being come near to the Village of *Corneille*, met with 4 or 5 Troops of Spanish Horse, who being forc'd to retire, the French follow'd them so close, that they entred with them into their Camp, and the rest of the Forces immediately after; so they advanc'd as far as the Village of *Felice*, the Quarters of the Viceroy, escap'd with much Difficulty. The French Soldiers thereupon fell to plundering, among other things took a Box, where there were 20000 Pistoles.

In the mean time the Spanish Horse follow'd, and three or four Squadrons attack'd the French Horse, who were dispersed, slew many of them; but these being supported by some fresh Squadrons, stopp'd the Spaniards: The Duke of *Vendosme* did not think it adviseable to proceed any further, but contenting himself to make the Spaniards quit two of the three Camps, which were possess'd of, returned to the Siege; notwithstanding all the Efforts he used to push it to a Conclusion, it was the 5th of August before the Garrison could be bro

to Capitulate; the Articles were sign'd on the 10th, and the Garrison march'd out on the 15th with all Ensigns of Honour. *Takes Barcelona.*

The Conduct and Bravery of the Duke of *Vendosme* in the whole management of this grand Affair, was very much extoll'd in *France*, and indeed not without some reason; but when it came in the last War to be compar'd with the Siege of *Barcelona*, form'd by the Earl of *Peterborough* in 1705, it was very much lessen'd, and the Remark that was made was this; that when *Vendosme* sat before it with an Army of 30000 Men, it held out 56 Days of open Trenches, and cost the *French* 12000 Men, kill'd or made unserviceable, besides a great number of Officers and 30 Engineers: Whereas the Earl's Army was not much more numerous than the Garrison, by which it was defended, the Siege did not last above three Weeks, and the Loss, setting aside the brave Prince of *Hesse's* being killed, was inconsiderable. *Remarks upon it.*

In the interval of the two last Wars, a certain Author, with what justness I cannot account for, was pleas'd to fix this Character upon the Duke of *Vendosme*. *Prepossession is a strange thing, if you mind what the World says, the Duke of Vendosme is a Hero; if you listen to what is privately whisper'd among those Officers that have seen him in Action, he has neither Head nor Arms, but only a little good Luck, and it may also be said of him, that Vice is rewarded in his Person: He is otherwise good Natur'd, Liberal, Familiar, a little too plain in his Address, of a coarse Taste, and a great lover of Men of Wit, without discerning the Delicacy of it: His* *How Characteriz'd.*



*way of Living will not suffer him to be spoken of till after his Death.*

What the Author means principally by way of Living I do not understand, unless that his Highness, contrary to the Custom of the French Nation, was much given to Drinking, concerning which there are many Stories related, the Particulars whereof shall not enter upon, but proceed to our publick Affairs: The French Arms in the beginning of the last War, proving so successful in Italy as the King expected first under the Conduct of the Marschal Catinat, and afterwards of Villeroy, his Majesty in 1702, appointed his Cousin de Vendosme to head his Troops in that Country. Tho' they had not the same good Opinion at Paris of the Duke's Merit and Capabilities as they had at Court; and 'twas said, *General had only made War against the Spaniards, but he could not do so in Italy, where he would have to do with Prince Eugene, against whom the other Generals of France, had not yet but the Disadvantage, in spite of their ability and Superiority.* The Army was numerous, and well provided; and the

*First Campaign  
in Italy.  
1702.*

perialists, under Prince Eugene, having some time blockaded the City of Mantua, Vendosme resolved to set that Place at liberty, and having himself in Person marched, he pass'd the Oglio at Bardelano, march'd thro' the Bressian. Prince Eugene necessitated to quit Ustiano, and to draw down Men from Marmirolo, whereby Mantua was freed on that side next to Verona, that Vendosme pass'd the Chiesia, without opposition.

*Relieves  
Mantua.*

position, and arrived at *Mantua*; this done, he made himself Master of *Castiglione*.

The Stratagem of Prince *Eugene* soon after this, to surprize the Duke of *Vendosme* in his Quarters, near *Mantua*, being unhappily disappointed; the Duke in his Turn, had the good Fortune, as well as Conduct, to surprize, and almost totally ruin three Regiments of Imperial Horse posted under General *Visconti*, at *Santa Vittoria*: And King *Philip*, now in *Italy*, in his Letter to the French King concerning this Enterprize, says, *He would leave his Cousin de Vendosme to send his Majesty a Courier, for he would not ascribe the Honour of that Action to himself, which was altogether his Due.*

As for the great Battle of *Luzara*, fought on the 15th of *August* this Year; 'tis certain *Fights the Battle of Philip and Vendosme were very much superior to Prince Eugene in Numbers: The Imperialists, as having drove the French and Spaniards a thousand Paces back from the Place of Battle, and incamping that Night upon the Ground they quitted, claim'd the Victory; and alledg'd farther, that Prince Eugene presently made his Victory known after the Fight, whereas Vendosme did not perceive he was a Victor till two Days after, when he sent an Account of it to the French King, by the Duke de Villeroy: Be it as it will, both Sides had their Te Deums, and the French inform'd us, That the Duke de Vendosme was present every where in the Battle, and perform'd all the Duties of a General, being always in the greatest Danger.*

An odd  
Advan-  
ture be-  
tween him  
and Prince  
Eugene.

The Duke *de Vendosme*, notwithstanding the Disputableness of the Victory at *Lu* (which soon surrendered to him) to keep the Reputation of it, held a Council of about laying Siege to *Borgoforte*; but it appearing too difficult, that of *Guastalla* pitch'd upon and taken; and some time after there was a great trial of Skill between him and his Cousin Prince *Eugene*, who having form'd a Design to surprize *Man* the Duke thought to have Countermined and blown him up. The Adventure thus related, a Sergeant of the Garrison *Man* being taken Prisoner by the *ri* *alist*, was examin'd by the Prince many Particulars, and after what manner they mounted the Guard? The Sergeant made answer, that the Guard was feeble, by reason of the many sick Soldiers of the Garrison: Upon which the Prince told him, that since he was of the Regiment of *Gie*, and by Consequence a *German*, ought to sacrifice himself for the Service of his Country; that it would be easie for him to bring over some other *Germans* of his Regiment, and perswade them to deliver one of the Gates of the City, when should be on the Guard; to which Purpose the Prince promis'd him 4000 Crowns a Regiment. The Sergeant accepted the offer, and every thing was agreed on for Execution of the Design. The Prince then upon releas'd the Sergeant, and sent him to *Man*, ordering him to give out, that he had made his Escape; and that when the Day came for the Execution of the Undertaking

dertaking, he should give the Prince notice of it by one of his Comrades; but the Sergeant, upon his return to *Mantua*, discover'd the Plot to the Marquess *de Langallery*, Governour of the Place, who went and inform'd the Duke *de Vendosme* of it; who order'd that the Sergeant should write to Prince *Eugene*, that every thing was ready to execute the Project, that the Draw-bridge of *Pradella* towards Morning should be ready to be let down; that at the same time he should attack a small Corps du Guard at the head of the Bridge, which might be easily seiz'd; to which the Prince answer'd, he would be there with 4 or 5000 Men. In the mean time the Duke *de Vendosme* sent the Count *de Thesse* to *Mantua*, from whence, upon the first Signal, he was to make a Sally with part of the Garrison; *M. de Barbieres* was also detach'd about the shutting in of the Day, with 4 Companies of Grenadiers, and *M. de Langallery* was to follow him with 2000 Horse, and 600 Dragoons, which were to be join'd and led by the Duke *de Vendosme* himself. All these Troops rendezvouzed before break of Day at the Gate of *Pradella*, and they were in hopes all Night long that Prince *Eugene* knew nothing of all this; but Day coming on, and the Enemy not appearing at the appointed Rendezvouz, they took it for granted they were discover'd; and indeed they afterwards understood that a *French* Deserter, a Dragoon, had given the Prince notice of the March of the *French* Troops. The *Imperialists* otherwise might have paid dear for an ill-grounded Stratagem.

However,

Takes Go-  
vernolo.

However, this Stratagem miscarried both Sides, *Vendosme* now form'd a De on *Governolo*, hoping thereby to free Dutchy of *Mantua* from the Incursions the *Imperialists*, and secure also the Peace the *Mincio*; to this End arriving at *Mantua*, and on the 17th of *December* detaching M. *Mignon* with 20 Companies of *Cadiers*, and 600 Horse to invest the *Ca* while some other Troops possessed themselves of the Avenues and other Posts; Siege lasted only five Days, by reason a Stratagem made use of by the Duke, order'd a false Post, defended by Grenadiers to be attack'd: He caused a false Bomb to be thrown, the Fusee of which burn long time; the *Imperialists* lying all while on their Bellies, the *French* took hold of the Opportunity, and assaulted the Post, which he took with little loss. *Prince Eugene* finding the Place was not in a Condition to make any long Resistance and not thinking it proper to hazard Veteran Troops for the Relief of it, ordered the Commander to quit it.

The *French Army* in *Italy* in the Year 1704, being much superior to that of the Emperor, the Duke of *Vendosme's* Ambition was to force his way thro' the *Trentine* into *Tyrol*, there joining the Elector of *Bavaria*, to invade the Empire on that Side; in order to this, he sent the Marquis de *Barbassiere* Lieutenant-General, disguised like a Peasant to endeavour to attempt to pass thro' *Saxony* to the Elector: But he was stopped at *Bregentz*, by the *Germans*, and sent Prisoner.

to *Inspruck*, from whence having writ to the Duke to let him know his Circumstance he sent thrice to General *Staremburg* to claim him, offering to pay his Ransom according to the Cartel ; but he was constantly answer'd, that not being taken by any of Prince *Eugene's* Troops, he could have no Benefit of that Cartel.

The Duke for the present seeming to lay aside all thoughts of the Junction with *Bavaria*, after he had in vain attempted *Ostiglia*, he march'd with his Army to *Pontemolino* and the *Secchia*, while Monsieur *Albergotti*, with another Body, advanc'd towards *Mirandola*, with Intent to attack General *Ublefield*, who lay intrench'd at *Quarantola*, with some Regiments of Horse and Foot to cover the Country on that side ; this put General *Staremburg* upon laying hold of the Opportunity to fall upon that Body, consisting of about 8000 Men, before they had received Advice of *Vendosme's* being retir'd from *Ostiglia* : In a word, 11 *German* Battalions of Foot, two Companies of Grenadiers, 1200 Horse and 12 Pieces of Cannon, on the 11th of *June* arriving by break Day, in the Neighbourhood of *Mirandola*, they march'd by certain bye Ways towards the Enemy, and came upon them so unawares, that their advanc'd Guards retiring, the *German* Grenadiers entred into their Camp with them ; and the Foot on the Right advancing at the same time thro' the Village, and the great Garden called *Ponte Pelegrino*, and the Horse on the Left under Prince *Thomas of Vaudemont* thro' the Plain, attack'd

attac'kd the Enemy with such Success that they entirely routed them; leaving a Thousand Slain and many Prisoners behind them, but no Baggage; for they had none with them. But for all this little Rebuke, the *French* under *Vendosme*, seemed to be Lords *Par-*  
*Answer to* mount in Italy, Committing many disorders  
*the Pope.* every where and even in the Ecclesiastical State; for which the Pope having long solicited for redress, the King by the Duke's mouth now let him know, that to give a new Proof of the veneration he had for the holy Chair, he had sent orders to the Duke of *Vendosme* immediately to withdraw out of the *Ferrarese*, into which he had been necessitated to enter, and to punish them who had been guilty of such Disorders.

*Takes*  
*Bersello.*

*Bersello* had been blockaded by Part of the *French* Troops a long time and the *Germans* being not strong enough to relieve it, that Fortrefs was at last obliged to yield, and the Garrison to become Prisoners of War; and this Conquest was so much the more glorious to the Duke of *Vendosme*, in that the *French* found in it 150 Pieces of Cannon and Ammunition in Proportion; It being as it were the *Germans* Place of Arms, and Consequently a vast Loss to them.

*Invades*  
*the Tren-*  
*tin in*  
*Vain.*

But the main Design the Duke had in View was to Joyn the Elector of *Bavaria*, to which End he actually invaded the *Trentin*, and having successfully forced the Passes about *Monte Baldo*, taken *Riva* and several other Places, he bombarded *Trent*, with little Success, and utterly failing in his Grand design of opening a Communication  
 with

with the Elector that way, he soon quitted all his Acquisitions in those Parts.

The Duke of Savoy being all this while suspected by France of Insincerity, his Majesty sent the Duke de Vendosme orders to disarm his Troops that served in the Army of the Two Crowns, which the Duke Executed in the following Manner: He caused French Troops in the Night to be posted between the Intrenchments along the Secchia and the Troops of the Duke of Savoy, and in the Morning went himself to the Quarters of the Marquess of Palavicini who Commanded them and ordered him to be seized. At the same time all the Officers were Seized and the Soldiers disarmed, they were in Number nine Batallions and as many Squadrons. He allowed the General and the other Officers their Baggage, to wear their Swords, and to be Confined in Lodi, but to have the freedom to walk about the Town upon their Parole: But he detain'd all the Artillery belonging to the Savoyards, with the Horses and Carriages, and the same Day ordered 20000 Men to March towards Piedmont, to dismember from the Dukes Subjection such Towns and Fortresses by main Force, which the Duke refused to surrender upon Demand; and that Vendosme's March might be rendred the more terrible, he was ordered to send the following Lines to the Duke, to give him Notice of it.

S I R,  
 'SINCE neither Religion, Honour, Inte- Letter to  
 'rest, Alliance, nor even your own hand the Duke  
 'Writing of Savoy.



‘ Writing are of any Force between  
 ‘ send you my Cousin the Duke of *Vendosme*  
 ‘ at the Head of my Armies, to make h  
 ‘ to you my Intentions. He will allow t  
 ‘ Hours to resolve what to do.

L E W

*Duke of  
 Savoy's  
 Answer.*

An Officer from the Duke *de Vendosme* having delivered this Letter to the Royal Highness, he returned him this answer: ‘ The ill Treatment my T  
 ‘ have met with, and so much Pride  
 ‘ Contempt of my Person have been s  
 ‘ that it has determined me to provi  
 ‘ gainst the like Insults for the future.  
 ‘ to the Menaces I am not surpriz'd at  
 ‘ I have nothing more to say, nor any  
 ‘ proposal to hearken to.

*Takes I.  
 Irea,*

The Approach of the Winter season and a hazardous March of Prince *Thomas* of *Ymont* sent by General *Staremburg* to relieve the Duke, rendered the King and his General's Menaces of little Effect for the Present: How *Vendosme* having great Superiority of Troops laid Siege to *Irea*, which after a brave Defence was surrendered to him. He had no sooner taken this, but he formed the Siege of *Verue*, and made the most remarkable Defence of that Place in the whole Course of the War. The Allies disputing every Inch of Ground with utmost Courage, hardships and obloquy; and *Vendosme*, while the same was depending, having surprized the Town of *Bard*, the French thereby became Masters of the whole Valley of *Aost* and open Communication between that and *Irea*.

The Siege of *Verue* having Spun out far <sup>Takes the</sup> into the New Year; and the Duke consider- <sup>Fort that</sup> ing there was no Probability of Mastering <sup>Cover'd</sup> it, so long as the Duke of *Savoy* was Master <sup>Verue.</sup> of the Fort, which covered the Communi-  
cation between that Town and *Crescentino*,  
he caused the same to be Stormed on the  
First of *March*, took it with considera-  
ble Loss, and on the Third Summon'd the  
Governor of the Town to Surrender, of-  
fering him Honourable Terms, and declaring  
that if they were not accepted he might ex-  
pect none: But the Governor looking upon  
himself as besieged only, since the taking of  
the Fort, answered that he had been be-  
sieged but Two Days, it was not yet time  
to think of Capitulating, and that he ought  
to apply himself to the Duke of *Savoy*, who  
was not far off. This vigorous Answer made  
the *French* General Conclude, that the Gover-  
nor was in a Condition to withstand a  
General Storm, and therefore he resolv'd  
to alter his Measures and to dislodge the  
Duke of *Savoy* from *Crescentino*, in hopes  
that the Garrison seeing no way of Relief  
would Capitulate; and having made Dispo-  
sitions accordingly, that Prince was no sooner  
inform'd of his Motions, but he sent away  
his Cannon and Baggage, levelled his In-  
trenchments and retired towards *Chivas*:  
*Vendosme* hereupon taking Possession of *Cres-*  
*centino*, push'd the Siege of *Verue*, notwith-  
standing the Great Severities of Weather,  
as well as the most valiant Defence of the  
Besieged, with great Vigour and Constancy:  
At length the Besieged offering to Capitulate  
on

on the 6th of April 1705, and being refused any other Terms than Prisoner War, next Day they blew up their Bo Grenadoes, Fire-pots, and other Fire-works and again desired to Capitulate, but answered they must yield at Discretion. the 8th, they blew up their Mines, w threw down the three Walls, and all Works, except the Donjon, into which retired and next Day surrendred at Discretion. The French were then pleased to tell us; that tho besieged in the last Days of the Siege acted contrary to the Laws of Arms, the Duke of Vendosme would not suffer Officers to be rifled, nor the Soldiers stripped. It was farther added, that the Baron de Freising came out with his Garrison, Vendosme said to him, ' That having blown up his Mines against the Rules of War, and having in several Particulars violated those Rules, he deserved Death but he hoped the King would approve of giving him and his Garrison their Lives. Its very certain the Duke of Vendosme shew'd great Conduct and firmness of Mind in the whole Series of this unparalleled Siege, which cost the French very dear in their Loss, by a List handed about by Allies, amounting to at least twelve thousand Men.

However it was, the French King shew'd himself extreamly pleased with the Event, the Duke's Conduct, saying in his Letter to the Archbishop of Paris, ' That this English prize had been sooner over, if the Duke

de Vendosme, more solicitous for the Preservation of his Troops, than his own Glory, and besides being inform'd of the Extremity the besieged was reduc'd to, had thought fit to delay the Success, and not expose so many brave Officers and Soldiers to the unavoidable Peril of several Mines, of which he had Knowledge; and to which they would have offered themselves with the same Zeal as they had shown on so many different Occasions.

This Siege of *Verue* was but just over; when the Duke de Vendosme posted to *Man-tua*, being followed by several Battalions; his Design being to join the Grand Prior his Brother, and to attack *Mirandola*, which in some time fell into their Hands.

Now came on the bloody Battle of *Cassano*, <sup>*Fights the*</sup> the French began their Account of it with a <sup>*Battle of*</sup> Flourish in favour of the Duke of Vendosme, <sup>*Cassano*</sup> saying, that Prince *Eugene*, in whose Valour and Conduct the Enemy had plac'd their last Resource, endeavouring to re-establish their Affairs in *Italy*, after several fruitless Attempts to surprize the Duke of Vendosme, judg'd it would be difficult for him to hazard a Battle against such a General, and against Troops whose Bravery had been sufficiently made appear during the whole Course of the Campaign; and therefore he determin'd it to be his best way to endeavour to pass the *Adda*, and penetrate into *Piedmont*, in order to succour the Duke of *Savoy*; and therefore decamping from *Romagnolo* on the 10th of *August* at 2 in the <sup>*1705.*</sup>  
S Morning;

Morning, and marching in three Columns, by different Rout, it puzzled the Duke for a while; till being inform'd that they had passed the *Serio*, and were got back to *Treviglio*, on the 11th between 5 and 6 in the Evening, he caused his Army to march in two Columns; his Infantry, followed by the Artillery, being on the Right, and all the Cavalry and Baggage on the Left: The Horse crossed the *Serio* over the Bridge of *Crema*, but the Foot forded that River; this done, and having advice on the 12th, that the *Imperialists* Rear-Guard had passed the Bridge that is over against *Crema* at four in the Evening before, and continued their march towards the *Adda*, he order'd the Grand Prior, his Brother, to encamp at *Bagnuolo* near *Crema*, whilst he himself went with all the Dragoons to *Lodi*; from whence arriving opportunely at *Cassano*, he was inform'd on the 14th in the Morning, that Prince *Eugene* had made two several Detachments with Cannon to force the Intrenchments, possessed by the Troops of the two Crowns, on the *Adda*: Whereupon the Duke having left a Body of *Swiss* in *Cassano*, and some Detachments of Horse at convenient Distances, to keep open a Communication with the Army at *Agnadello*, march'd up with the Troops posted lower on the *Adda*, as far as *Trezzo*; but finding the Prince's Design was on the Post of *Paradise*, there he laid a Bridge over the *Adda*, without any Opposition, than the fire of the Enemies Cannon.

*Vendosme.*

*Vendosme*, in the mean time, sent Orders to the Grand Prior to post himself at *Rivolta*, in order to draw near the Bridge of *Cassano*; and so to fortifie himself there, that he might send him 15 Battalions, which joined him on the 15th at Sun rising at *Paradiso*: But finding on the 16th that the Prince was retir'd from his Bridge on the *Adda*, that he might with the greater Advantage attack that part of the Army which remain'd at *Rivolta*, under the Grand Prior; he posted to *Cassano*, caused the Army to be extended in two Columns to *Rivolta*, and manag'd it so that all the Troops were joined when the *Imperialists* attacked the Rear-Guard; one of their Columns filed off by the Road that leads from *Treviglio* to *Cassano*, and passed the *Communa* over a great Stone Bridge; another passed the *Navaglio*; partly by fording, and partly over an Aqueduct above the Bridge; they attacked the Duke of *Vendosme's* Left with wonderful Fury, and at the distance of a Pike's length, and soon after attacked the Center with the same vigour, where they made their greatest Efforts, broke thro' their Battalions, and advanced to the Artillery, which was behind; but fresh Troops coming on, they were repulsed here: They also attacked the Rear-Guard, where the Fight was very obstinate, and the Ground they gained was lost; the first Effort they made at the head of the Left, caused great Disorder there; and having penetrated as far as the Work which cover'd the Head of the Bridge of *Cassano*; they made themselves Master of a

Cassine, wherein *Vendosme* had posted a Battalion; but *Albergotti*, with the Brigade of *Vendosme*, having obliged them to quit the Fort at the Bridge of *Cassano*; the Regiment of *Vendosme* attacked the Cassine, and drove them out of it with great loss; the Battle lasted from 2 till 6 in the Evening: *Vendosme's* Account makes the Loss of the *Imperialists* to be 7000 slain, besides the great Numbers drowned in the Canals, and 1800 Prisoners; and he computed the whole to amount to 13000 Men killed, wounded and taken Prisoners: He owned only the loss of 2500 Men slain and wounded on his own Side; the *Imperialists*, on their part, claim'd the Victory, as well as the other, lessen'd their own Loss very much, and reckon'd that by this Action they saved *Turin* from being taken that Campaign by the Enemy.

*Vendosme's*  
Conduct  
extoll'd.

The *French* were pleas'd to tell us, that the Duke of *Vendosme's* Conduct on this Occasion could not be sufficiently Commended, who having found Means by his Prudence to anticipate the Enemies Designs, contributed no less by his Orders and Example to render their greatest Efforts ineffectual, exposing himself every where in the most dangerous Posts: They added, he had his Horse killed under him, and that several of his Attendants were slain.

*King's*  
Sentiments  
of  
his Con-  
duct.

The Duke of *Vendosme* seem'd now to be very much in the King's Favour, for the Zeal he shew'd in executing his Orders; and his Majesty, speaking of this Action, highly extoll'd him in these words, 'The Progress of my Arms in *Italy* could not be attended

attended with a more glorious Event than the Victory obtained the 16th instant, by my Cousin the Duke of *Vendosme*, over the Imperial Army, Commanded by Prince *Eugene of Savoy*; that General, after having tried all Ways to send Succours to the Duke of *Savoy*, which have been so long promised and expected, or at least to hinder, by a Diversion, the utter ruin of his Dominions, resolved at last to force his Passage: But whatever Movements he made to attack my Army with Advantage, all his Efforts were rendered impotent by the Valour of my Troops, and the Capacity and Vigilance of the Duke of *Vendosme*: The Officers and Soldiers animated alike by the just Confidence they have in him, sustained the first Shock with unspeakable Bravery; and those who came to attack them, soon thought of nothing but defending themselves, and at last they were forced to retire with Precipitation, and declined the Field of Battle: Prince *Eugene* being wounded, part of their Generals killed, above 7000 of their Troops remaining on the Place, 1800 Prisoners, several Cannon and Colours taken, shew the Fight, which lasted four hours, was bloody and obstinate, and the Victory entire and compleat. His Majesty, at another time, taking occasion to speak of the Duke upon this Account, said, *He should prefer his Cousin's Glory to all the Advantages he might obtain by the Victory he had gained.* It was farther added, that his Majesty being informed the Duke was extremely troubled



for the Horse which was killed under him, that all the Officers said, *That Horse kne much as the Marechal de Turenne's* Pie sent him, to comfort him, six of the f Horfes in his Royal Stable.

Goes to  
Court.

The Campaign now drawing to an without the *French* Troops undertaking Seige of *Turin*, tho' 'twas said the *Duke Vendosme* was for it; his Highness being treacably zealous to execute the Design the Court, wrote to the King for leave wait upon him but for 24 hours only, cause he had something to communicate him he could not trust to a Letter: King permitted him, and so he took for *Versailles*, leaving the Command of Army in his absence to the Count *de davi*, and the Marquess *de St. Fremont*: on the Duke's arrival at Court, Mat were concerted for the utter Ruin of Duke of *Savoy*; and the Campaign was be open'd with some *Action d' Eclat*, making Advantage of the weakness of *Imperialists*, and the absence of Prince *gene*, now gone to the *Imperial Court*.

Defeat  
the Imper-  
ialists at  
Calcinato  
1705.

The Duke was no sooner return'd *Italy*, but he form'd a Project to attack *Imperialists* before the arrival of the Reinforcements from *Germany*, and having dr together a Body of 18000 Foot, and 5 Horfe, march'd so early as the 18th of *April* at Night with great Diligence, and w out Noise, and began the Attack next on the side of *Montechiari*, and afterw towards *Calcinato*: The Action was sinart, but the *Germans* were at last obl

to yield to Numbers; and quitting those Posts to retire to *Gavardo*, with the loss of 1500 Men, and 6 pieces of Cannon: This done, the Duke *de Vendosme*, encamped at *Castanedolo*, extending himself next Day towards *Drugolo*, he let his Troops rest a little, and afterwards directed his March towards *Salo*, to endeavour to cut off the Communication of the *Imperialists* with *Tyrol*: But there was a stop put to his good Fortune at *Maderno*, where the *Imperialists* had fortified a very narrow Pass, on the one side defended by the Lake *lu Garda*, and on the other side by a Mountain, so that after about three hours firing the *French* retir'd, with the loss of about 200 Men killed and wounded. Its true, General *Medavi* possessed himself of *Salo*, and several other Places, and made a Detachment to follow the *Imperialists*; but *Vendosme* understanding Prince *Eugene* march'd his Troops round the Lake, to fall in to the *Venezze*, he changed his Measures, and the rest of the time he staid in *Italy* could gain no Advantage over his Enemy.

Nevertheless the *French* King was so pleased with the beginning of this Campaign, which seem'd so favourable to his Designs, that he wrote a very obliging Letter to the Duke of *Vendosme*, ' I cannot tell, says *King's*  
' *his Majesty*, which of us is most glad of *Letter to*  
' our happy Success, you or I: Nothing is *him.*  
' more Shining and Advantageous than the  
' beginning of this Campaign; I do not  
' doubt but you will carry it with the same

‘ Wisdom and Valour ; no Body can  
 ‘ more convinc’d of this than I am,  
 ‘ desire it most, for Reasons that  
 ‘ common to us, being both so m  
 ‘ concern’d for one another, and  
 ‘ *France* ; you shall be satisfied tha  
 ‘ shall on all Occasions give you Pr  
 ‘ of my Friendship, and the Trust I  
 ‘ in you.

*Made*

*Mareschal*  
*General.*

The King, not content to bestow t  
 and other Elogies on the Duke of *Vende*  
 as occasion serv’d, would still give him  
 Instances of his Esteem ; he presented  
 with a Patent of the same Nature he  
 merly had given the *Mareschal de Tur*  
*nay* ’twas said he went farther ; by  
 Patent the Duke was to take place of  
 the *Mareschals of France*, and to Comm  
 them.

We need not mention in this Place  
 Particulars of the famous Battle of *Ra*  
*lies*, in the *Netherlands*, by which *Fr*  
 received such a Shock as amazed all  
*rope* ; to retrieve which the *French* K  
 well knowing that he had no General  
 had yet been so prosperous as the I  
 of *Vendosme*, thought fit now to r  
 him out of *Italy*, though his Pres  
 was so necessary there, and to give  
 the Command of the *French* Army  
 the *Netherlands* : The Preamble to  
 Commission being very Remarkable,  
 discovering some important Truths,  
 shall insert it here.

LOWIS &c,

Notwithstanding the continual Progress <sup>Preamble</sup>  
 our Armies in *Italy* have made, under the <sup>of the</sup>  
 Conduct of our right well beloved Cousin <sup>Duke's</sup>  
 the Duke of *Vendosme*, since the open- <sup>Commis-</sup>  
 ing of the Campaign in the Year 1702, <sup>sion.</sup>  
 when we entrusted him with the Command  
 of our Troops, seem to invite us to leave  
 him the Care of finishing the War; yet the  
 necessity of putting at the Head of our Armies  
 in *Flanders* a General, who may gain the  
 Confidence of Officers and Soldiers, and to re-  
 store to the Troops that spirit of Fortitude and  
 Boldness so natural to the French Nation;  
 and the Knowledge we have that no other is  
 more Capable, to answer our Expectations  
 than our Cousin aforesaid, have determined  
 us to recall him from *Italy*, to give him  
 the Command of our Armies in the Low-  
 Countries; being perswaded that his services  
 will be more useful to us; and that in any  
 Country whatsoever where he shall make  
 War, it will be as glorious as in  
*Italy*, &c.

The Duke of *Vendosme*, who was succeeded  
 in the Command of the Army in *Italy* by  
 the Duke of *Orleans*, left *Milan* on the 21<sup>st</sup>  
 of *July*, and indeed all the good Fortune  
 of the *French* in that Country, seemed to leave  
 them with that General. In the mean time the  
*French* Army had received such a Rout at  
*Ramellies*, that it was a very difficult mat-  
 ter to inspire fresh Courage into them, tho'  
 the Duke de *Vendosme*, to do him Justice, omit-  
 ted nothing to reestablish the Troops during  
 the

1706. the Rest of the Campaign of 1706, while *Menin* was taken by the Duke of *Marlborough*, as it were, in sight of him. The Campaign of 1707, was the only one since the Commencement of the War, wherein the Duke of *Marlborough* did nothing that was Memorable; whether this is to be attributed wholly to the Conduct of the Duke of *Vendosme*, I'll leave others to Judge. Its certain, he appear'd at the Head of a great Army without his Lines, and incamped on the Plains of *Flerus*, having formed a Design to ravage *Brabant*, which obliged the Duke of *Marlborough* to pass his Campaign with the Confederate Army at *Melder* to cover the Country; and this prevented him to undertake any Siege.

The Duke having had the Address to put a stop to the Progress of the Arms of the Allies this Campaign, no Body could be thought to be fitter to Command the Army of *France* in the *Netherlands* for the Year 1708, than his Highness: But I know not what Reasons induced his Majesty to send the Princes this Year into the Field; I mean, the Duke's of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, under whom *Vendosme* Commanded, and in all Probability would have done much better without them. All the Efforts on both sides seem'd to be intended in the *Netherlands*; the Duke of *Marlborough* waited for Prince *Eugene*'s taking the Field with an Army that was to be composed of the Troops of *Prussia* and *Hesse*, some Regiments of the Elector *Palatine*'s, and some *Imperialists*. The Motion of this Body was retarded by several

several Difficulties raised, concerning the March of the *Palatine* Forces; which *Vandosme* having Intelligence of, and concluding that our Armies would hardly venture to force them in the Passes and Defiles they had seized on, immediately commanded a Detachment to march towards *Ghent* and *Bruges*, in order to surprize those Towns, which on the 5th of *July*, they executed thus: A Party of the Troops, commanded by the Brigadiers *La Faille* and *Pastour*, advanced before Break of Day to the first of these Places, five or six Soldiers went before, and upon the opening of the Gates, the *French* pretended they were Deserters to the Watch, which consisted of Burghers, and was not more numerous than those who amus'd them with Stories of Desertion. Immediately after, another small Company of the same *Kidney* appear'd, and entertain'd the Watch with the like frivolous Relations, till Brigadier *La Faille* came in Person, who immediately appear'd, and ordered the Guards at the Gates to lay down their Arms, and submit themselves to the King of *Spain*. They obey'd his Order without resistance, and that General after he had secured the Gates and admitted the *French*, march'd directly to the Town-house, where he summoned the Burghers to meet; upon their convening, he commanded a General Pardon to be read, in which Assurances were given them of being protected in their Ancient Liberties and Franchises.

As

As soon as the Town was taken, the *French* caused the Governor of the Cittadel to be summoned to surrender; but the Officer that commanded therein, returned an Answer, that he would defend it to the last Extremity. The *French* began their Attacks against it, and Major-general *Murray*, who was posted at *Marienkirk* with two *English* and one *Spanish* Batallions, endeavoured to throw a Reinforcement into the Castle, but was repulsed in his Design, and obliged to Retire. The Governor of the Cittadel capitulated the next Day, as did the Town of *Bruges*, upon a Detachment of the *French* Army arriving before the Place, without making the least Opposition; only some Ceremonies in the Matter were observed, and certain Conditions agreed upon, respecting the Receiver of their Contributions and his Comptroller: But the whole Air of the Capitulation demonstrated, that the Articles thereof were agreed upon long before, by other Persons than they that pretended to execute them.

*He invests  
Audenard.*

But whilst the Deputies of the States were endeavouring to find Methods how to obstruct the Progress of the *French*, and secure the Towns in that Part of *Flanders*, from the Force and Intrigues of the two Crowns: The Duke of *Marborough* and Monsieur *Ozerkirk*, resolved to March towards the Grand Army, commanded by the Princes of the Blood and the Duke of *Vendosme*; and the Princes having thus happily begun the Campaign, they next resolved on the Siege of *Audenard*, which being invested about the  
8th

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of July the Duke made a Motion with Intent of taking the Camp of *Lessines*: they had effected this, the Town must have of Course submitted to Mercy, being absolutely cut off from receiving any Relief from the Confederates. The *French* were near this Advantageous Post, that they thought themselves sure of it; and that, or some other hidden Cause, made them negligent of improving the present Crisis. But soon, to their vast Surprise, their Scouts brought them notice, that the Troops of the Allies having march'd all Night, had prevented them in their Design, and were ready to enter into a Camp which they had mark'd out as their own.

The *French* being disappointed in securing themselves of *Lessines*, left the Road at that Place, and advanc'd in the way to *Liège* to pass the *Scheld* there; and so abandon'd the Siege of *Audenard*, and took *Siege of* their Course towards their Lines. On the *Audenarde* other side, all things being ready in the confederate Camp for an Engagement, and *abandon-* the Officers and Soldiers in general shewing an inexpressible Ardour, to give Marks of their Resolution and Bravery, Major-general *Cadogan* was detach'd with 8 Squadrons and 16 Battalions to *Audenarde*, to take Ways and Bridges there, for the Passage of the Army, which follow'd after in 4 Columns, about eight of the Clock in the morning, and march'd in the same manner they had encamp'd the Night before, directing their Rout to the Left. During the march, Advice was brought, that the Enemies



Vigour, respectively encouraging one  
ther to undergo the Fatigues of the  
which would at length afford 'em an  
portunity of signalizing their Courag  
Eight Squadrons and part of the fi  
Detachment, with the Quarter-Master  
Major-General *Ranizaw* at the Head of  
were planted behind a Rivulet that  
into the *Scheld*, and these Gentlemen  
Notice, that the *French* Army were  
marching, and partly drawn up in one  
Battel. The Troops that went forth  
took their Road through the Villag  
*Hearne*, situated on the Banks of the *S*  
and had a High-way that run throug  
which extended it self along the R  
Into this Post *Vendosme* threw seven E  
lions, and the Neighbouring Plains w  
confronted the small Village, were  
with the Troops of the Household,  
were drawn up exactly opposite to  
eight Squadrons under Major-General *R*  
*zaw*, no Obstacle but a small Rivulet  
ding them: Behind the Village, were

to gain their own Lines between *Lisle* and *Journay*, which they thought they might have done, not thinking that so considerable a Body as that of the Confederates, could march five Leagues in a close Country bounding in Passes and Defiles, have their loads levell'd, pass a great River, and make an Attack upon them the same Day.

About three in the Afternoon the *French* <sup>*Fights*</sup> Cavalry began to disappear, directing their <sup>*the Battle*</sup> March towards their own Right. This of <sup>*of Aude-*</sup> Ard. Motion of the Horse, gave Major-General *Cadogan* an Opportunity of falling upon the seven Battalions posted in the Village of *Hearn*, who now had no other Aid at Hand than their own Valour could befriend them with. These, that Officer ordered to be charged with twelve Battalions of the sixteen under his Command, the other four being too far in the Rear: Brigadier *Sabin* at the Head of his Brigade began the Attack, and being well seconded by the rest, he utterly defeated them, taking three of the seven Battalions entire, and making many Prisoners of the Officers and private Men that belong'd to the other four.

*Vendosme* observing the success of the Engagement at the Village of *Hearn*, and being sensible that the Confederates would soon Attack him, having for that purpose pass'd their Troops over the *Scheld*, found himself under a necessity to Stand. Fill'd with these Thoughts, he drew his Forces in Order of Battle before the Castle of *Braon*, having in their Front several Defiles, guarded with Inclosures of Hedges, Ditches,

Ditches, or Thickets. As the Confed Troops came forwards, the Duke of *borough* and Prince *Eugene* form'd the Wing, a little distance from the Castle the *French* drew up in Battalia : After discharge of a few Field Pieces, the *A* came on, and the Fire was most ter every Foot of Ground being disputed the utmost Vigour and Obstinacy. By Troops of the High Allies being encour by the Presence and Example of the *C* rals, made their way through all Obs that might hinder or retard their Vi<sup>c</sup> they broke the Enemy every where obliged them, though with a great de Reluctancy, to quit their Posts, which had well defended. The Left Wing was little or nothing at all engag'd, be of the Defiles and the long Circuit were to take, to be able to charge t<sup>e</sup> nemy; yet the Velt-Marshal *de Auverl* who had been in a languishing Cond all the Winter long, was now mounte Horse-back, and gave Orders to Major neral *Weck* to march with the Brigad *Wassenaer* and *Oudenberg*. These Brig supported by the Cavalry under the *C* mand of Count *Tilly*, took Post in a Plain, where they drew up in Orde Battel. The *French* retir'd and immedi shelter'd themselves under the Covertu the Hedges between *Broan* and *Lede* wards the main Body of their Army, w the Fire was very hot. Hither came Prince of *Nassau*, with Count *Oxenstern* four Brigades of Infantry, which cha

the Enemy in Flank; and so about six in the Evening the Right, Left and Main Bodies were all engag'd. The Enemy gave Ground every where, and in their Retreat met some Battalions of the Allies, whose Ardour of engaging had carried them too far from the other Troops.

At last the Enemies finding themselves charg'd both in Front and Flank, and being unable to stand any longer the Efforts of our Foot; the King's Household, which had suffered very much, retired in the utmost Disorder, leaving many Prisoners behind them, whom their Wounds or the Crowd, would not permit to retreat as fast as their Companions. The Dragoons favour'd their Retreat, and received on Horseback several Discharges of our Foot, so that they affirm'd, with a great deal of Justice, they sacrific'd themselves to save the Troops of the Household: They would afterwards have made their escape, but were intercepted by the Confederate Cavalry; and so were cut to pieces in endeavouring to save them; so that out of four Regiments which were engag'd in this part of the Action, one half of their Number were Slain, and whilst the rest were considering what Methods were proper for their Safety, some Adjutants belonging to the High Allies command'd to that Purpose, offer'd them Quarter, if they would surrender Prisoners of War, which Terms they had Discretion to accept of. Several other Regiments followed their Example, and secur'd themselves by accepting the like Terms. The

T

Night,

Night, which gives Rest to all Men, an end to the Slaughter, and sav'd the remainder of the *French* Troops, which retired with Precipitation towards *Ghent*.

At ill  
Terms  
with the  
Duke of  
Burgundy.

Great were the Differences between Duke of *Vendosme* and the Duke of *Burgundy* about the latter's fighting this Battle at the other's Opinion; the Misunderstanding lasted during the rest of the Campaign, and the *French* Court tried all imaginable Ways to reconcile them, but all their deavours were to no Purpose: The Duke being naturally inclined not to disapprove his Grandson's Conduct, saw very plain that the Duke of *Vendosme* had Right on his side, he being a General of Experience. Be it will, the Duke having got his Army together again, thought of nothing but trenching himself behind the Canal of *Burgundy* and had the Mortification to see the City of the *Pais Conquis* razed, and *Lisle*, Capital, besieged, without being able to oppose it: Indeed, after he had formed a Conspiracy to surprize *Antwerp*, which had the desired Effect, he tried several Ways to Succour *Lisle*, some few Squadrons, some Powder, he had the Address to get into the Place: About which time the famous Fight at *Wynendale* happen'd between Major General *Webb*, and a Body of Troops sent by *Vendosme*, to oppose a Convoy coming from *Ostend* for the Besiegers; in this Action the Allies, tho much inferior in Number, were gloriously Victorious over the Troops of *France*, to the great Contempt of *Vendosme*.

French  
defeated  
at Wyn-  
endale.

All these Misadventures could not discourage the Duke from forming one Enterprize more, in order to prevent the Conquest of *Lisle*, and that in concert with the Elector of *Bavaria*, who was to besiege *Brussels* while the other cover'd him ; but *Marlbrough* and *Eugene* having forc'd the Passage of the *Scheld*, *Vendosme*, with the Princes, was necessitated to retire beyond *Tournay*, towards *Doway* and *Valenciennes* ; and the Princes return'd to *Versailles* very ill satisfy'd with the Campaign, so fatal to the *French* Designs. The Conquest of *Lisle* being attended with the taking of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, this Campaign ended ingloriously to the Duke, who never after Commanded in the *Netherlands*.

*France* was perhaps never more shocked <sup>Made Genl</sup> at any thing than the defeat given by General <sup>in</sup> *Staremberg* to the Duke of *Anjou's* <sup>Spain</sup> Forces at *Saragossa*, in the Year 1710 ; to <sup>1710.</sup> retrieve which the King could think of no Body so proper as the Duke of *Vendosme*, who upon the News of it was dispatch'd for *Spain* ; and indeed the Event shew'd that he was capable to recover that Kingdom to King *Philip*, and to render all the Acquisitions of King *Charles* in this Campaign fruitless. The Allies indeed flatter'd themselves, that they should be able to keep their Ground in *Castile*, till they were reforc'd ; but we were before the End of the Year, undeceived by the way of *France*, in our Expectations. *Vendosme*, upon his arrival in *Spain*, got *Philip's* Army augmented with uncommon Celerity, used great Secresie in his Conduct, made admirable Dispositions, and

He takes  
Bribuega.

very expeditious Marches to come up the Allies, as they were drawing off towards *Aragon*; and finding that the *lish*, under the Command of General *hope*, turn'd aside to get Provision at *buega*, he unexpectedly appear'd before Place; and the *French* Account was this; on the 9th of *December* in the Mornin began to fire from his Batteries against Place, which in a little time made a Breach to no purpose, there being a Terra Earth within the Wall. That the Du *Vendosme* viewing the Approaches to Place, observed on the Left of the A several Houses contiguous, or adjoining the Wall on the Outside. He caus'd Men to take Possession of them, with E to set the Miners to work under the on that side, and to beat down an adjacent Gate. That they form'd two Attacks: having given Order for supporting the Left, which was the true Attack Breach being imperfect at the Right, they inform'd, that Count *Staremberg*, was vancing to succour *Bribuega*. That this King *Philip* caused the Cavalry to which the Duke of *Vendosme* led, posted them himself on the Hills to that side by which the Enemy were approaching, and then he returned to the That the Infantry made an Assault on Town, the Action was long, and hard put, because the Enemy's Troops not only inured to Service, and number had likewise good Intrenchments Streets. The springing of the Mine c

a pretty large Breach, and besides, the Gate at the Left Attack was beaten down. The Place was enter'd, and the Enemy being forced, set fire to their first Intrenchment, which was made of dry Wood, as also to the Neighbouring Houses, which stopp'd the Troops; but the Fire being extinguish'd, the Allies were push'd from one House to another, and at length driven to their last Intrenchment. While this was doing at the Attack on the Left, the Troops appointed to act at that on the Right, expected the Orders given by *Vendosme* to attack the Breach, and maintain themselves there, or making a Diversion of the Allies Forces, who seeing themselves reduc'd to Extremity, and in want of Provisions (by which Term the Relator left us to understand *Ammunition*) they beat a Parley about six at Night. The Capitulation was regulated, and the Garrison were made Prisoners of War. They consisted of 7 *English* Battalions, 1 Battalion of *Portuguese*, and 8 Squadrons of *English*. The Duke agreed, that the Officers, Troops, Dragoons and Soldiers, should keep their Equipage and Baggage; they being oblig'd at the same time to deliver up all their Arms, to march out at ten the next Morning, and in the mean while to deliver up the Gate of the Castle; favourable Conditions were granted besides to the Prisoners and wounded. That the chief Prisoners were, the Lieutenants-General *Stanbope*, *Carter* and *Wills*, two Major-Generals, and two Brigadiers.



*Fights  
the Battle  
of Villa-  
viciosa.*

This was a great Master-piece in the Duke, that he should make himself Master of *Brihuega* and so many brave Troops, before General *Stareimberg*, with all the Expedition he used, could come up to relieve it; so that being now much superior in strength, he had the more Advantage to engage him, as he did on the 10th in the Evening, at *Villa-viciosa*: He shew'd his Skill in the Art of War by the advantageous Choice he made of his Ground, and other Dispositions for a Battle; the *French* indeed magnified the Valour of their Troops in this Action to the highest Degree, and yet they own'd that the Right Wing of the Confederate Forces, tho' surrounded on all Sides, fought on Couragiously, and that they even gain'd Ground; that in the End the Night favoured the Retreat of that part of the Confederate Infantry, who till then had fought with very great Courage, but that it was with great Precipitation they retir'd, taking the Rout of *Siguenza*. That they abandon'd their wounded, and left with them on the Field of Battle twenty Cannon, two Mortars, their Waggon, all their Equipages and Artillery, the Baggage of their Army, and about 8000 Fusils. That the Number of the kill'd on the Field of Battle was much about 4000 Men, three Fourths of which were the Enemies Troops, and the Number of Prisoners 3000 Men; among them were Lieutenant-Generals *Belcastle*, who commanded the *Dutch Auxiliaries*, Monsieur de *St. Amand*, and many other Officers. Don *Joseph Vallejo*, who was post-  
ed

ed to cut off the Communication between *Aragon* and the Enemy's Army, had on his part taken 2300 Prisoners, almost all Horse; so that reckoning the Battalions and Squadrons taken at *Bribuega*, and the Prisoners taken in the Battle, the number of those the King of *Spain* had actually in his Power, was 9000 Men; and also that Count *Staremburg* had but 3000 Foot and 8 Troops of Horse left with him.

I shall not pretend to insert the Account given by the Allies of this Battle, by which they lost all their Conquests in *Spain*, save what they had in *Catalonia*; and even there *Gironne*, after a smart Siege in the depth of Winter, fell into the Hands of the Victors.

The Duke of *Vendosme* did nothing Memorable in the Campaign of 1711, where-in indeed his Adversary General *Staremburg* seemed to have shewn the more superiour Conduct of the two, but passing from *Valentia* into *Catalonia*, to open the Campaign of 1712, he died in the Arms of the Marquess of *Arpajon*, at *Vinaros* near *Hu Dearb Lerida*, on the 11th of *June*, in the 58th and 59th Year of his Age. By his Will he bequeath'd his whole real Estate to his Dutchess, and reserved only the Sum of five hundred thousand Livres for his own Disposal. He had desired the King in his Will to pardon the Grand Prior, his Brother, to whom he left a Pension of twelve thousand Livres, one of six thousand to the Captain of his Guards, as much to the Abbot *Magnon*, his Almoner, proportionable

Pensions to the rest of his Officers, and two thousand Livres in ready Money to each of his Footmen. Since he was in Spain he had had no part of the Income of his Estate remitted to him, having brought his Expence within a thousand Pistoles a Month, which King *Philip* caus'd to be regularly paid him. The French King told his Dutcheß, he was very much troubled for the Death of her Husband, and that he designed to have recalled him in a little time for the good of the State.

*His Titles.* Lewis Joseph, Duke of *Vendosme*, was a Peer of France, Prince of *Martignes*, Knight of the King's Orders, Great Seneschal and Governor of *Provence*, and General of the Gallies.

*His Marriage.* The Duke of *Vendosme* having lived to be an old Batchelor, on the 15th of May 1710, married *Marie Anne de Bourbon*, Daughter of *Henry Julius de Bourbon*, Prince of *Conde*, first Prince of the Blood, by whom he had no Children.

Since the Death of the Duke of *Vendosme*, the Dutcheß, his Widow, the Dutcheß du *Maine*, and the Princess of *Conti*, have renew'd their Suit at Law against the Duke of *Bourbon*: The Duke of *Orleans*, for his part pretends a Right to the Seat of *Anet*, but the King has interposed his Authority, and taken upon himself the Arbitration of their Disputes, and of all that relates to the Succession of the Duke of *Vendosme*.



MEMOIRS  
OF  
*Mr. Richard Cromwell,*  
SOMETIME  
Lord Protector, &c.



Have seen a Pedegree of this *Origin of*  
Family finely drawn up on *the Crom-*  
Vellum, and signed by an *well's*  
Officer at Arms, which de-  
rives them from *Cadwalader,*  
the last King of *Wales*: It could  
not be calculated for the Protector *Oliver,*  
in favour of his Descent in particular, and  
to Countenance his Grandeur ; because he  
was at the time it was drawn up, but about  
two Years of Age : But without looking  
so far back, *William ap Morgan,* of *New-*  
*Church* in the County of *Glamorgan,* was one *William*  
of *ap Morgan*

of the Privy Council to King *Henry VII*, the Father of *Morgan Williams*, for such was Custom of even the *Welch* Gentry in those I in that Country, to use Patronimicks: W *Morgan Williams* getting into some good under that great but unfortunate Favou *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Essex*, Married Sister, and by her had Issue Sir *Richard Will Knight*, a valiant Gentleman, who being ferred by his Uncle the Earl, assumed the name of *Cromwell*, and left it with his La in *Huntingtonshire* to his Posterity.

*Morgan Williams.* This Sir *Richard* was the Father of *Henry Cromwell* of *Hinching-Brook* Kni, which Sir *Henry's* Son and Heir, was *Oliver Cromwell* Knight of the Bath, in Reign of King *James I.* and Master of Estate of 10000*l. per Annum*, a vast Fort in those Days; which, if I mistake not, to Daughters, and some of it was *Bush Hertfordshire* the Estate of the late Col *Titus*: The other Son of Sir *Henry* Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, a Gentleman well belo and esteem'd in his Country, and the Fat of *Oliver Cromwell* the Protector; of wh his bitterest Adversaries could not fort saying that he was a Man, *Quem ne Iniquidem vituperari possint, nisi etiam Laude Whom his very Enemies, could not discomm but that they must at the same time praise b* His Life has been writ by two different P in the Reign of *Charles II.* since wh there are so many things come to Li concerning him, that in time it may oc sion a Third; which will be too Volu

*His Sons.* nous to have a place amongst these Memo

hat are chiefly, Designed to relate to his Son and Successor. ——— *Oliver* had three Sons *Oliver*, *Richard* and *Henry*; who for some time after the civil War broke out, went to School at *Welsted* in *Essex*, the eldest of which who was a very handsome Young Gentleman was suddenly sent for by his Father to go to the Army, but did not long survive, being taken off by the small Pox in the Flower of his Youth. As for the other two, we shall account for them by and by. The Protector's Daughters were first *Bridget* Married to *Henry Ireton* Esquire, first a <sup>His</sup> Captain, then a Colonel of Horse, and up-<sup>Daugh-</sup> on new Modelling of the Parliament's Army, <sup>ters.</sup> Commissary General. But *Ireton* dying in *Ireland*, she was after his decease Married to *Charles Fleetwood* of the County of *Bucks* Esquire: *Elizabeth* became the Wife of *John Claypole* Esquire of *Northamptonshire*, made Master of the Horse to the Protector, one of his House of Lords, a Knight and Baronet, on *July* 16th 1657, he being then Clerk of the *Chanaper*; the said *Elizabeth* dyed *August* 7th 1658, and was buried in *Henry VII's Chappel* in a Vault made on Purpose. *Mary* the second Wife of *Thomas Bellasyse*, Viscount *Falconberg*, Married to him with a great deal of State at *Hampton-Court* on the 18th of *November* 1657, and is lately dead without any Children by him; much about which time he was made one of *Olivers* Lords, and several Years after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* Captain of the Bands of Pensioners. *Frances* the youngest Daughter was Married to Mr. *Robert Rich*, only Son of *Robert Lord Rich*, Son of *Robert Earl*

Earl of *Warwick* on the 11th of *November* 1657, much about which time he was made one of *Olivers* Lords: But this *Mr. Rich* dyed on the 16th of *February* 1657, his Father on the 29th of *May* 1659, and his Grandfather on the 18th of *April* 1658.

Having mentioned this Lady (for I take her to be the Person) It may not be unpleasing to the Reader, to amuse him with a Story which *Jeremiah White* frequently related to his Companions: This Person, being Domestick Chaplain to *Cromwell*, young, handsome, and amorous, and falling deeply in Love with this Lady; but at the same time well knowing the stern Temper of his Master, he took all possible Precautions to conceal it from him; and having one day got with all the Privacy imaginable into her Chamber, he made his Addresses to her prostrate upon his Knees with all the Eloquence and pathetick Expressions, his passion could Suggest to him: *Oliver* who had his Eyes every where, and Smoaked somewhat of this Amour, suddenly bolting in upon him, and finding him in that humbly Posture, Roughly asked him what he meant by it? *Jerry* with a wonderful Presence of mind and happy turn of thought, answered he was very much Enamoured on Mrs.——(who was one of the Lady's Women) and was an humble Suppliant to her to speak a good Word to her in his Behalf; *Get up, Get up, Mr. White,* cryed *Cromwell*, *you shall have her:* And so he made him Marry her, who was a very homely Woman, and for whom, it was thought, he never had any real Kindness, tho' she liv'd his Wife for about Fifty Years. This

An advertisement of *Jeremiah White* with *Oliver*.

This Madam Rich was afterwards marry'd to Sir *John Russel* of *Chippenham-Hall*, in the County of *Cambridge*, Bar. and by him became the Mother of Sir *William Russel*, deceased; of Brigadier *Rich Russel*, now living; of Mr. *John Russel*, a great Merchant in the *East-Indies*; and of the Lady *Frankland*, Wife of Sir *Thomas Frankland*, Bar. and one of the Governours of the Post-Office: The Lady *Russel* liv'd lately with her Sister the Countess Dowager of *Falconberg*.

The Protector had also four Sisters, one of which was Married to Colonel *John Desborough*, some time one of the Generals at Sea, Major-General of several Counties in the *West*, one of the Lords of the *Cinque Ports*, &c. Another was marry'd to Roger *Whetstone*, an Officer in the Parliament Army, but he dying before *Oliver* came to his Grandeur, she was marry'd to *John Jones*, a Gentleman of *Wales*, one of the King's Judges, Governour of the Isle of *Anglesea*, one of the Commissioners of Parliament for the Government of *Ireland*, and one of *Cromwell's* House of Lords; he was, after the Restoration, Executed as being a Regicide.

—A third Sister was marry'd to *Vaentine Walton*, of *Stoughton* in the County of *Huntington*, afterwards Colonel in the Parliament Army; and one of the King's Judges: After her decease he marry'd the Daughter of one *Pimm* of *Brill* in *Buckinghamshire* (Widow of *Anstey* of the same Place) but upon fore-sight of the King's Return, he fled into *Flanders*, and liv'd unknown for some time, in the Condition of

His Sisters



a Gard'ner : At length growing Sick, and like to die, he discover'd who he was, and desir'd that after his Death his near Relations in *England* might be acquainted with it.——A fourth Sister, nam'd *Robina*, was marry'd to *Peter French*, Dr. in Divinity, by whom she had a Daughter nam'd *Elizabeth*, who was marry'd to *John Tillotson*, Dr. in Divinity, and Archbishop of *Canterbury* ; by him she became the Mother of two Daughters, the eldest of which dy'd at the Age of about fifteen ; the other was marry'd to *James Chadwick*, Esq; sometime a Commissioner of the Customs, in the Reign of King *William III*, and bore him two Sons, *George* and *John*, I suppose both living ; as she did also a Daughter nam'd *Mary*, marry'd to Mr. *Fowler*, one of the Sons of Dr. *Fowler*, Bishop of *Glocester*, and sometime a Linnen-draper in *Cheapside*, *London* : *Robina*, above-mention'd, marry'd to her second Husband *John Wilkins*, Dr. in Divinity, and sometime Bishop of *Chester*, but by him left no Children ; she surviv'd him, and liv'd afterwards with her Daughter *Tillotson* till her Death, which happen'd in the time that the Doctor was Dean of *Canterbury*.

I have been the more particular in these Genealogies, as well as those few that are to come, because they are most of them new, and not to be met with any whereelse.

But let us now come to the main Subject of these Memoirs, Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, who during the Course of the Civil War, was bred in the Country, led a Life

Life that delighted much in Hunting, and other Rural Sports: But when his Father was approaching to his Grandeur, he took him to himself; and upon his assuming the Supreme Power over the three Kingdoms, by the Title of Lord Protector, he got him elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford in his own stead; gave him Command in the Army, and when he thought fit to Constitute a new House of Lords, by the name of the *other House*; the Lord Richard was at the head of them, and so continu'd till his Father's Death, which happen'd on the 3d of September 1658.

It was said, it was very common with him in his Father's Life-time, to drink his Father's Landlord's Health: Be it as it will, the Lord Richard Cromwell, on the next Morning was proclaim'd his Father's lawful Successor, as he had design'd him in his Life-time; upon which the Army Congratulated their new General, and renew'd their Vows of Fidelity to him; the Navy did the like: The City appear'd more unanimous for his Service than they were for his Father's, testifying their Obedience to their new Sovereign, without any Hesitation. What became of all those Addresses, which he afterwards in Derision, when he abdicated, called *The Lives and Fortunes of the People of England*, and desired they should be kept safe, I could not, after all my Enquiry, find any manner of Account.

He was not only address'd to, and highly Complemented at Home, but foreign Princes address'd their Condolances to him, and

Oliver's  
Funeral.

and desir'd to renew their Alliances ; nothing was heard in *England*, but the \ of Joy, and large Encomiums of new Protector : He solèmniz'd his Fat Funeral with great Pomp and Solem as well as a vast Charge, which afterw fell very heavy upon him ; and was principal Cause of the obscure Life he (and which at last Contracted into a bit) to his dying Day.

Father  
Orleans  
his Cha-  
racter of  
him.

Whether the Account Father Or gives of him in his History of the Rev sions of *England*, be true in every Par lar, I am not to answer for ; but thu expresses himself, ' That he had nei ' his Father's good nor bad Qualities, ' therefore could not support that S ' ture which had been rais'd by bot ' them ; that he was a good sort of ' enough, an Enemy to Violence, of ir ' ferent Natural Parts, and had never ' prov'd those he had, either by Educa ' or Experience ; that his Father kept ' in the Country, never interfering in ' lick Affairs, or seeking after it ; b ' timorous and uncapable of Attempt ' and much less of putting in Execut ' those Things which requir'd Vigour ' Resolution ; that his Weakness was ' known before he was rais'd to the l ' tectorship ; and it was reported, tha ' his Father, who knew him better tha ' thers, had not been snatch'd away by De ' his younger Brother *Henry*, who was ' in *Ireland*, would have filled the Place, ' been much more proper for it.

It had perhaps been happy for the new Protector, that he had not been necessitated to call a Parliament; but there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last Alliance which *Oliver* had made with the Crown of *Sweden*, did oblige him in the Spring to send a strong Fleet into the *Sound*, to assist that King against *Denmark*: This could hardly be done without some assistance of Parliament, and therefore he sent out his Writs to call one to meet on the 27th of *January*, till which Day, for near five Months, he remain'd as great a Prince as ever his Father had been. He followed the Model that was left him, and sent out his Writs to call those as Peers who had constituted the other House in the former Parliament: And so both Lords and Commons met at the Day assign'd, at which time he came to the Parliament in the same State that *Oliver* his Father had done; and sent the Gentleman Usher of the Black-rod to the Commons, that they should attend him in the other House; here, first by himself, and then by the Keeper of his Great Seal, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, he recommended to them the Prosecution of the War with *Spain*, and the assistance of the King of *Sweden* in the *Sound*. He had so good fortune at the beginning, that all the Commons sign'd an *Engagement* not to alter the present Government. But they were no sooner within these Walls, than there appeared the old Republican Spirit. It began with enquiring into the Accounts, how Money had been spent, and into Offices of Excise and Customs, and what was become of all that Revenue. When they were called upon to settle the Act of Recognition, to confirm *Richard* and his Authority in the State, they would first inform themselves of their own Authority, and how the other Government was already settled, and what

Richard  
calls a  
new Par-  
liament

Differen-  
ces rise in  
the House  
of Com-  
mons about  
the Account  
of Money;  
and about  
the other  
House, &c

those Peers, and the power of the Peers  
as upon his Creatures the Peers.  
put the House in mind, 'how grie  
'had been to the Kingdom, that the  
'had fate in the House of Peers, becau  
'were look'd upon as so many Votes  
'King; which was a reason much stro  
'gainst these Persons, who were all th  
'of the Protector's own Hand, and th  
'could not but be entirely addicted an  
'ted to his Interest. They concluded,  
'they could not, with good Conscience  
'without the guilt of Perjury, ever conse  
'that other House should have any part  
'Government, since they had all taken  
'agement, that there should be no mo  
'House of Peers, and since the Office  
'ector had been, and might still continu  
'out it.

Notwithstanding all this, the violent  
could not prevail, but it was carried  
major Part of the House, 'That they  
'meet and confer with the other Hou  
'part of the Parliament; and likewise  
'such other Persons as had a right to c  
'that other House, and had not forfeite  
'their Breach of Trust, should not be r

consulted what Government to settle, that might be better than either : Yet they would not incense them both together, nor appear to have any disinclination to *Richard*, who had many of his nearest Friends amongst them, that prepared an Address to *Richard*, in which they complain'd of 'the great Arrears of Pay that were due to them, by which they were in great Streights : That they who had born the Brunt of the War, and undergone all the Difficulties and Dangers of it, were now undervalued, derided and laid aside : That the good old Cause was ill spoken of, and traduced by Malignants and disaffected Persons, who grew every Day more insolent, and their Numbers increased by Resort out of *Flanders*, and other Places ; and they had several secret Meetings in the City of *London* : That the Names of all those who had fate upon the late King as his Judges, were lately printed, and scatter'd abroad, as if they were design'd to Destruction ; and that many Suits were commenced at Common Law against honest Men, for what they had transacted in the War as Soldiers : That those famous Acts, which had been performed in the long Parliament, and by the late Protector, were censured, railed at, and vilified. By all which, they said, 'it was very manifest, that the good old Cause was declined, which they were resolv'd to assert. And therefore they besought his Highness to represent those their Complaints to the Parliament, and to require proper and speedy Remedies.

This Address was no sooner deliver'd than *Tichburn* and *Ireton*, two Aldermen of *London*, and principal Commanders of that Militia, drew *The City* up likewise a Remonstrance, and sent it to the Militia Council of Officers ; in which they declared their Resolutions with the Army to stick to *them*.

the good old Cause, and that they were resolv'd to accompany them in whatsoever they should do for what they call'd the Nation's Good.

The Parliament being quickly alarm'd with these Cabals, voted, 'that there should be no Meeting or general Council of Officers, without the Protector's consent, and by his Order: And, that no Persons should have Commands by Sea or Land, in either of the three Nations, who did not immediately subscribe, 'that he would not disturb the free meeting of Parliaments, or of any Members in either House of Parliament; nor obstruct their freedom in Debates and Counsels. These Votes, or to this Effect, were sent to *Richard*, and by him presently to *Wallingford House*, where the Council of Officers then sat.

These Officers were Men who resolv'd to execute as well as order, they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther; and therefore they no sooner received these Votes, but they sent *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* to *Richard* (the first his Brother-in-Law, the other his Uncle-in-Law, both raised by *Cromwell*) to advise him forthwith to dissolve the Parliament. They were two upon whose Affection, in regard of the Nearness of their Alliance, and their Obligation to, and Dependance upon his Father, he had as much reason to confide in as any Men's in the Nation. *Fleetwood* used no Arguments but of Conscience, 'to prevent the Nation's being engaged in Blood, which, he said, 'would inevitably fall out, if the Parliament were not presently dissolved. *Desborough*, a Man of a rude and rough Temper, treated him only with Threats and Menaces; told him, 'it was impossible for him to keep both the Parliament and the Army his Friends; wished

‘wished him to choose which he would prefer ;  
 ‘if he dissolved the Parliament out of hand, he  
 ‘had the Army at his Devotion ; if he refused  
 ‘that, he believed the Army would quickly  
 ‘pull him out of *Whitethall*.

The poor Protector could not clearly discern what was best for him, and yet he was not without Friends to counsel him, if he had been capable to receive Counsel in that Extremity ; among others, *Charles Howard*, commonly called the Lord *Charles Howard*, as being one of *Oliver’s* Lords, and sometime Captain of his Guards, was very earnest with *Richard* to exert himself by some vigorous Action, like those which supported his Father’s Authority, till his Death. ‘You are *Cromwell’s* Howard’s  
 ‘Son, said he, shew your self worthy of it ; *Advice to him.*  
 ‘this Business requires a bold Stroke, and must  
 ‘be supported by a good Head : Do not suffer  
 ‘your self to be daunted now, and my Head  
 ‘shall answer for the Consequences : *Fleetwood,*  
 ‘*Lambert, Desborough* and *Vane* are the Con-  
 ‘trivers of all this, I will rid you of them, do  
 ‘you but stand by me, and, only back my  
 ‘zeal for your Honour. *Richard* (says *Or-*  
*leans*) was surprized at these Words ; he an-  
 swered in a Consternation, that he did not *His An-*  
 love Blood, that he would never offer up *wer.*  
 so many Sacrifices to his Ambition ; and in  
 short, that he could never consent to what  
*Howard* proposed.

‘That Mercy, reply’d *Howard*, who was still *His R. ply.*  
 of the same Mind, ‘is not now seasonable, as  
 ‘Matters stand ; we may shed that Blood which  
 ‘contrives to spill ours, without being fond  
 ‘of Bloodshed ; and tho’ Conscience may ob-  
 ‘struct a Sovereign’s sacrificing an innocent Per-  
 ‘son to his Ambition, it does not oppose his  
 ‘executing a Criminal, for his own safety :  
 ‘Lay aside that Puffanimity, so misbecoming  
 U 3 ‘the



Richard  
uncompli-  
able.

‘ the Successor of *Cromwell*, but be quick, for  
‘ every Moment is precious : Consider that your  
‘ Enemies spend their time in Acting, which  
‘ we waste in Consultation. *Howard*’s heat  
could not make its way into *Richard*’s Heart;  
he own’d the Obligation, but did not alter his  
Mind, and said, ‘ Talk no more of it, my Re-  
‘ solution is fix’d ; violent Counsels do not suit  
‘ with me, and all you can perswade me by  
‘ that you now give, is that it proceeds from  
‘ true Friendship, for which I am thankful.

*Howard* hereupon withdrew, and leaving a  
Man who abandon’d himself to his own Fate,  
join’d the Royalists, where he was of Use to the  
Better Cause. It’s affirm’d, in some Memoirs  
which I have seen, that *Howard* at that very  
time, was engag’d in the King’s Service, and only  
gave that Advice to set his Enemies together  
by the Ears : This is not unlikely, but the  
whole Authority of Historians is against it ; be  
it as it will, this was the same *Charles Howard*,  
who after the Restoration, in 1661, was ad-  
vanced by King *Charles II.* to the Dignity of  
Lord *Dacres* of *Gillesland*, Viscount *Howard*  
of *Morpeth*, and Earl of *Carlisle*, and was  
the Grandfather of the present Earl of that  
Name.

But to return to *Richard*, he was not with-  
out other Friends, besides *Howard*, to Coun-  
sel him ; to say nothing of many Members of  
the Parliament, of Courage and Interest, who  
repair’d to him with assurance, ‘ that the Par-  
‘ liament would continue firm to him, and de-  
‘ stroy the Ring-leaders of this seditious Crew,  
‘ if he would adhere to the Parliament ; but  
‘ if he were prevail’d upon to dissolve it, he  
‘ would be left without a Friend ; and they  
‘ who had compell’d him to do so imprudent  
‘ an Action, would condemn him when he had  
‘ done it. Some Officers of the Army likewise  
‘ of

‘ of equal Courage and Interest with any of  
 ‘ the rest, perswaded him ‘ to reject the desire  
 ‘ of those who call’d themselves the Council of  
 ‘ the Army, and to think of punishing their  
 ‘ Presumption. *Ingoldsby, Whaley and Goffe*,  
 three Colonels of the Army, and the two former  
 Men of signal Courage, offer’d to stand by  
 him; and one of them offer’d to kill *Lambert*  
 (whom they looked upon as the Author of this  
 Conspiracy) if he would give him a Warrant  
 to that Purpose.

*Richard* continued irresolute, now inclined *Dissolves*  
 one way, then another. But in the End, *Des-the Par-*  
*borough* and his Companions prevailed with him *liament.*  
 before they parted, to sign a Commission, which  
 they had caused to be prepared, to *Nathaniel*  
*Fiennes*, his Keeper of the Seal, to dissolve the  
 Parliament next Morning; of which they hav-  
 ing notice, they resolv’d not to go up to the  
 other House: So that when the Keeper *Fiennes*  
 sent for them, the Commons shut the Door of  
 their House, and would not suffer the Gentle-  
 man Usher of the Black-rod to come in, but ad-  
 journed themselves till the 25th of *April*, ima-  
 gining that they should by that time convert  
 the Protector from destroying himself. But  
 he presently caused a Proclamation to be  
 issued out, by which he did declare the Par-  
 liament to be dissolved; the Council of Of-  
 ficers appointing Guards to attend at *Westmin-*  
*ster*, which kept out those Members, who, in  
 pursuance of their Adjournment, would have  
 entred into the House upon the Day ap-  
 pointed.

Hereupon the Council of Officers removed  
*Ingoldsby, Whaley, Goffe*, and those other Of-  
 ficers who had dissuaded *Richard* from submit-  
 ting to their Advice, from having any Com-  
 mand in the Army; and replaced *Lambert*, and

Richard  
irresolute.

all the rest who had been cashiered by *Oliver*, into their own Charges again. The Protector was now look'd upon as a lost Man, and tho' they let him rest some few Days without proceeding any farther, yet such as were clear-sighted, foresaw that the Calm threatned a Storm; that they were taking those Measures they had not time before to adjust, for settling the Government; and that as soon as they had fixed that Point, they would depose *Richard*. The Royalists laid hold of that Opportunity to advise him and his Party to side with the King: They thought he might be the more likely to espouse that Interest in his declining Fortune, because it was reported, that he had formerly cast himself at his Father's Feet to beg King *Charles* the First's Life; but *Richard* wavered, and chose rather to leave his own Fate uncertain, than to hazard any thing to mend it, fearing he might precipitate, instead of preventing the Danger. But his Friends having open'd his Eyes, shew'd him the danger so near, that he resolv'd to fly for it: *Fleetwood*, whom he acquainted with his Intention, assur'd him there was no design against his Life; that if they took away the Government, they would make him such a Fortune as would satisfy a Man of his Moderation.

Council of  
Officers  
Declaration  
1653.

These Words stopt him, and so he continu'd at *White-hall* to see the Event: In the mean time the Council of Officers drew up a Declaration, which they published upon the sixth of *May*, wherein, after a large Preamble in Commendation of the good old Cause, and accusing themselves 'for having been instrumental in declining from it; and the Vindication 'whereof they were resolv'd to pursue for the 'future; they remember'd, 'that the long Parliament consisting of those Members who had 'continued to sit till the 20th of *April* 1653, 'had

id been eminent Assertors of that Cause, and  
 id the special Providence of God with them,  
 id were signally bless'd in that good Work.  
 ey said, ' that the desires of many good Peo-  
 e concurring with them, they did, by that  
 eclaration, according to their Duty, invite  
 ose Members to return to the discharge of  
 eir Trust, as they had done before that Day;  
 id promised, that they would be ready, in  
 eir Places, to yield them their utmost Assist-  
 ce, that they might sit and consult in safety  
 r the settling and securing the Peace and  
 uiet of the Common-wealth, for which they  
 id now so good an Opportunity. And this  
 eclaration, within very few Days, they se-  
 ded with what they call'd *The Humble Pe-  
 m and Address of the Officers of the Army to  
 Parliament*. The Rump being got together  
 protected, they could not think their Au-  
 rity to be firm, whilst there was still a Pro-  
 or, or the Name in being, and residing in  
*ite-hall*; and so appointed a Committee to  
 to *Richard*, first to enquire into the State  
 his Debts, and then to demand of him,  
 ether he acquiesced in the present Gor-  
 nment?

as to his Debts he gave the Committee a  
 ver, which contained the State of them and  
 r Contracted, which amounted to twenty  
 e thousand six hundred and forty Pounds.  
 the other Question, his Answer was likewise  
 Writing; ' That he trusted his Carriage and  
 haviour had manifested his Acquiescence in  
 e Will and good Pleasure of God; and that  
 loved and valued the Peace of the Common-  
 ealth much above his private Concernment;  
 siring by this, that a Measure of his future  
 mportment might be taken; which, by the  
 essing of God, should be such as should bear  
 e same Witness; he having, he hoped, in  
 ' some

some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the Hand of God, than be unquiet under it : That, as to late Providence that had fallen out, however, in respect to the particular Engagement that lay upon him, he could not be active in making a Change in the Government of the Nations, yet, through the Goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in it being made ; and did hold himself obliged, as with other Men he might expect Protection from the present Government, so to demean himself with all Peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the utmost of his Power, that all in whom he had Interest should do the same.

*Richard* from henceforward lived retiredly for the most Part at his Seat at *Hursey* in *Hampshire*, but perceiving the near Approach of the King's Restoration, he resign'd the Office of Chancellor of *Oxford*, by his Letter to the University, dated at the same Place, May 8, 1660 : Upon which the Marquess of *Hartford* was soon after restor'd to the Chancellorship ; and having made what Provision he could for his Support in a State of Banishment ; he, in Company with Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, who had been one of the Regicides, retires into *France*.

*How Charles* I have shewn before how *Richard* in his Father's time was the first Lord of the 62 by him appointed to Constitute another House of Parliament ; and I find an anonymous Author of those times, among the rest Characterize him thus : That he was a Person of great Worth and Merit, and well Skilled in Hawking, Hunting, Horse-racing, with other Sports and Pastimes ; one whose undertakings, services and hazzards for the Cause could not well be numbred nor set forth ; unless the drinking of King *Charles II.* his Father's Landlord's Health : His Abilities  
in

in Praying and Preaching, and his love to Secretaries was much a-like to his Cousin *Dick Ingoldsby*, and he being very likely to be his Fathers Successor, and to inherit his noble Virtues, by being the light of his Eyes and the breath of his Nostrils, of the old heathenish popish Laws and Customs of the Nation, especially among the Learned, the University of *Oxford*, thought fit, he being no very good Scholar, to choose him their Chancellor; and tho he had not Judgment, as not having a spirit of Government, at first to have a Command in the Army, when they were fighting; or Honest and Wise enough to be one of the little Parliament; yet he became Colonel of Horse, when fighting was over, was taken to be one of the Protector Council, one of the other House, and to have the first negative Vote over the good People of the Common-wealth; since he was in so hopeful a Way to have the great negative Voice over the whole, after his Fathers Decease.

But to follow this unhappy Gentleman a little in his Exile, my Lord *Clarendon* says in his History; that after he had lived some years in *Paris* untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his own Name, nor having above one Servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first Rumour and Apprehension that there was like to be a War between *England* and *France*, to quit that Kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be neutral to either Party and pitched upon *Gersure* of his *Pezenas*. Making his way thither by *Bordeaux*, and through the Province of *Languedoc*, he passed through *Pezenas*, a very pleasant Town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, who had a fair Palace there, and, being then Governour of *Languedoc*, made his Residence in it. In this place

place *Richard* made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the Situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a Person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his Father's, and of his Party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, ' that all Strangers who came to that Town, used to wait upon the Prince of *Couti*, the Governor of the Province; who expected it, and always treated Strangers, and particularly the *English*, with much Civility: That he need not to be known, but that he himself would first go to the Prince and inform him, that another *English* Gentleman was passing through that Town towards *Italy*, who would be glad to have the honour to kiss his hands.

He receiv'd him with great Civility and Grace, according to his Natural custom, and, after few words, begun to discourse of the Affairs of *England*, and asked many questions concerning the King, and whether all Men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answer'd briefly, according to the truth. ' Well, said the Prince, ' *Oliver*, though he was a Traytor and a Villain, was a brave Fellow, had great Parts, great Courage, and was worthy to Command; but that *Richard*, that Coxcomb, *Coquin*, *Poltron*, was surely the basest fellow alive; What is become of that Fool? How was it possible he could be such a Sot? He answer'd, ' that he was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his Father; so being weary of his Visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the Town, out of fear that the Prince might know that He was the very Fool and Coxcomb he had mention'd so kindly. And within two days after, the

the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believ'd to be a Man not very glad of the King's Restoration.

Whether this Story be true or false, I have named my Author for it, who himself dyed in Exile; and if I mistake not, much about the time that Mr. *Richard Cromwell* thought he should be at least in no danger from the Government, if he return'd privately, and lived retiredly in *England*, which he did for some time in *Moor-fields*; tho' I think there was a Sort of annuall Proclamation put out against him as long as King *Charles* liv'd. From *Moor-fields* he removed by the name of *Clerk*, to *Cheshunt* in the County of *Hertford*, had a handsome Allowance made him by his own Son Mr. *Oliver Cromwell*, who enjoy'd his Mothers Estate of *Hurstley* in *Hampshire*, was both very generous and very Charitable, and much beloved and respected by all that had Access to him and conversed with him.

Thus enjoying in his Solitude great Tranquility of Mind and a share of Health uncommon to such advanced Years; Nature received a great Shock by the Death of his only Son *Oliver Cromwell*; who having never been Married, gave his Father his Estate, which was about 800*l.* per Annum, and came to him by his Mother the Daughter of *Richard Major* Esquire, during the natural Term of his Life, and to his two Sisters, *Madam Gibson*, the Wife of *Thomas Gibson*, Doctor of Physick, and *Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell* a Maiden; for the eldest Sister of all *Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell* who had Married one Mr. *Mortimer* a Merchant living on *Tower-Hill*, was dead many Years before in Child-bed.

Shall



*Consent about it.* Shall I draw a Veil over the sequel of the Story, or proceed to the real truth and take Notice; that the Old Gentleman, who had a very great Affection for his Daughters, entrusted the Youngest to go down to *Hursley* and to take Possession, which she did accordingly; and upon a supposition of the Father's being quite superannuated, it was Proposed to give him an Allowance out of the Estate, and the Daughters to have the Rest: This being not Comply'd with, he was necessitated to prefer a Bill in Chancery against them; and being obliged to be in Court in Person at the Hearing, the Countess of *Falconberg* sent her Coach and Equipage to convey her Brother into *Westminster-Hall*. He was first Conducted into a Room, where my Lord Chancellor *Cowper* had ordered Tea, Coffee and other Refreshments for him, till the Cause came on, at which time his Lordship commanded a Chair to be brought and desir'd him to sit down. This being observed by one of the Counsel of the other side, he began to open, but was cut short by my Lord Chancellor, who told him *he would allow of no Reflections to be made, but that they should come to the Merits of the Cause*; which being given for the Father, he enjoyed the Estate of *Hursley*, the rest of his Days, and departed this Life at Sergeant *Pengelly's* House at *Chestnut* aforesaid on the 9th of *August*, in the 88th year of his Age, having survived Four Kings and One Queen of *England*.

*Appears in Westminster-Hall.*

*His Death and Age.*

Mr. *Rushworth*, having finished his Book entitled, *Historicall Collections of private Passages of State, weighty matters in Law, and remarkable Proceedings in five Parliaments*; the first Edition now published having being perused by *Bulstrode Whitlock*, was dedicated to *Richard*, Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*; and

and this is the only Book, I can meet with, that was dedicated to him.

Having done with our Account of Mr. *Richard Cromwell*; the Reader will not think it amiss, if we entertain him with a Page or Two concerning his Younger Brother Mr. *Henry Cromwell*, who at the time of *Richard's* deposal, was Possessed of the Government of *Ireland*: It was expected the Rump Parliament would have found a more refractory Spirit of him than the other, he being looked upon as a Man of another Air and Temper: He had in the Exercise of his Government, by the Frankness of his Humour and a general Civility to all Persons, and very particularly obliging, rendered himself Gracious and Popular to all sorts of People, and might have been able to have made some contests with the Parliament: But so it fell out, that as soon as he received an order from them to attend them in Person, he thought not fit to be Wiser than his elder Brother, and came over even sooner than they expected and laid his Commission at their Feet, which they accepted, and put the Government of that Kingdom into the Hands of *Ludlow* and Four other Commissioners. *Resigns his Government of Ireland to the Rump.*

The generous Deportment of this Gentleman in his Government, and the Kindness and Humanity he shew'd to many of the cavalier Party and even to some of the Papists, one of which, viz. the Countess of *Antrim* many years after being at dinner at *Hursley*, and pointing at one of *Henry's* Sons then present, very Frankly said, *All that we have in the World is owing to that Gentleman's Father.* I say, his good Conduct when in Power, procured him many Friends; so that settling in the County of *Cambridge*, he did not think, upon the Restoration of the Royal Family, he was so Obnoxious to them, as to be obliged to withdraw out of the Kingdom

King  
Charles II.  
goes to  
Harry  
Cromwells  
House.

dom : He lived peaceably from thence forwards at *Spiney-Abbey*, a Seat and Estate of his own Purchasing, very much respected in his Neighbourhood, and once visited by King *Charles II.* himself ; by a singular Adventure, and in the manner here following, as I had it from one of the Family, who had a great deal of Reason to know it. King *Charles* going one day from *New-Market* a Hawking, accompany'd by the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert* and several Persons of Quality, among whom was the Earl of *Thomond*, and drawing near *Spiney-Abbey*, the Earl would Conduct them thither for some Refreshment. Coming near to the End of the Walk leading to the *Abbey* and finding a Man at Work with a *Pitch-Fork*, he dismounted and taking the *Fork* in his Hand held it up and walked with it before the King, to the Gate ; and then discovering, whose House it was, said to his Majesty ; *So have I carry'd the Sword of State in Ireland many times before my Brother Harry Cromwell, when he was Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom* : For you are to know, that my Lord *Thomond* Married the Widdow of Colonel *Reynolds*, who was drowned in coming over from *Dunkirk*, whose name was *Sarah*, a Daughter of Sir *William Russel*, and Sister to *Harry Cromwell's* Wife. The Countess is still living in *Northamptonshire*.

But to resume our Story ; the King and his Retinue being conducted into the House, Mr. *Cromwell* did not think it proper to appear, but going out at the Back-Door, kept out of Sight while they staid ; but his Lady came down, and the King saluted her, and she entertained his Majesty and his Company to their Satisfaction.

Mr. *Henry Cromwell* dyed in or about the Year 1671, of that Cruel distemper the Stone ; and King *Charles* being much about that time at *New-Market*, and told of it by my Lord  
Suffolk

Henry  
Crom-  
well's  
Death.

*Suffolk*, he inquired into many Particulars relating to his Illness, asked if they had not given him his Drops (for you are to understand, the King was very Chymically inclined and had an Elaboratory in *White-Hall*, over which Sir *Thomas Williams* presided) and seem'd to shew a real Concern for him: So great was the good Nature and Humanity of that Prince.

Mr. *Cromwell* had marryed — *Russel*, Daughter His Mar. of Sir *William Russel* of *Chippenham* in the County of *Cambridge* Baronet, and left her a Wid-Children, dow: By her he had only two Sons, who grew up to Man's Estate, viz. *Henry Cromwell* Esquire, who Marryed the Daughter of Mr. *Hewling*, a Merchant in the City of *London*, who is now his Widdow and has Children by him: Mr. *Cromwell* having sold the Estate of *Spiney-Abbey* to the present Earl of *Orford*, who also bought that of *Chippenham* above named, both of which, as I have been inform'd, were Confounded by the Artifice of one *Percival* a Lawyer, betook himself to a military Life, was in the last War a Captain in my Lord *Mohun's* Regiment, and before that, if I mistake not, had a Troop of Dragoons in Colonels *Leigh's* Regiment. Be it as it will, he dyed at *Lisbon* in the Month of *August* 1711, Major to *Feildings* Regiment of Foot. The other Son of Mr. *Henry Cromwell* is Mr. *Francis Cromwell* now living unmarried.



# M E M O I R S

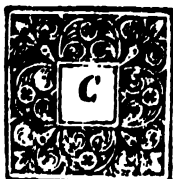
O F T H E

# L I F E

O F

Lieutenant-General *Wood.*

*His Birth  
and Pa-  
rentage.*



**C**ORNELIUS *Wood* was the Son of a Reverend Divine, Mr. *Seth Wood*, descended from the ancient Family of the *Woods*, in the County of *York*; their Arms being three Wood-men Coupp'd, and their Crest an Oak

*Education*

proper vert fructed *Or. Staffordshire* was his Native Country, where he was born on the first of *September 1636*. His Education, under the Care and Inspection of so good a Father, was sober, and very regular; and tho' he discover'd early a Genius for great Things, his Parents Aim was to make a good Citizen of him; and therefore when he grew up fit to be put out, they plac'd him with a Linen-Dra-

*A Linen-  
Draper.*

per

per in the City of *London*; where having Faithfully gone thro' the Course of his Servitude; he set up, and soon distinguished himself to be a Person of Integrity and real Merit.

I need not inform the World of the ill Success he had in Trade, which was owing chiefly *His Mis-* to his Frankness and Generosity, in giving too *fortune* much Credit, that soon involved him in Difficulties, hard to be bore by a great Mind, and out of which it was not easy for him to extricate himself: At last having Compounded with his Creditors, give me leave here once for all, to mention it to his immortal Honour, and as a most glorious Example for others to imitate; that when afterwards in Process of time his Circumstances altered for the better, he made all of them full Reparation, and paid 3000*l.* on that Head, of which the Law could not oblige him to pay one Farthing. *Makes full Reparation to his Creditors.*

Mr. Wood indeed had ever discover'd greater Inclinations to a Military than a mechanical Life, therefore he laid hold of an Opportunity to put himself into the Horse Guards, qualifying himself for that and any preferments which might Possibly come, by being well instructed in the Art of Riding the Great Horse and the like Exercises: This was in the latter Part of the Reign of King *Charles II.* He rode about four Years a private Gentleman here, before he was advanced to be a Sub-Brigadier; in which Post he had not continued long, before he got to be a Brigadier, and then an Exempt. *Goes into the Horse-Guards.*

The Revolution coming on apace, the Prince of *Orange* was no sooner mounted upon the Throne, but he was pleased to make Mr. Wood Captain of a Troop of Horse in the Regiment then commanded by *George Lord Huet*, with which he went into *Ireland* in 1689, to oppose King *James* and his Adherents. He command- *Made an Officer.*

*Acceptable to  
Duke  
Schomberg in  
Ireland,  
1689.*

ed the Regiment in that Kingdom, during the Absence of the superior Officers, and soon gave distinguishing proofs of his Valour and good Conduct, by which he rendered himself acceptable to Persons of the first Rank in the Army, more particularly to Mareschal *Schemberg*, who was much pleased with his Conversation; and would occasionally impart to him some of his Remarks in the Art of War, which his long Experience and Elevated Genius suggested to him.

The War proving Tedious in *Ireland*, King *William* resolved in 1690, to go over in Person, and if possible to put an End to it in that Campaign. His Majesty was wonderfully Successful at the *Boyne* and made himself Master of the whole Kingdom, except the Fortresses of *Limerick*, *Galway*, and *Athlone*; and it was none of his Fault that these also were not reduced by him: He form'd the Siege of the first and strongest of these Places, in hopes by the Reduction of it, soon to bring the others to submit: Mr. *Wood* distinguish'd himself in a very Signal manner, as well as some other brave Commanders; but bad Weather and some unforeseen Accidents hapning, the Reduction of that Kingdom became the work of another Campaign.

*His Justice.*

Mr. *Wood*'s Behaviour in his Quarters and Pursuit of Rapperies, who Cruelly infested the Country, was very Singular and Praise-worthy; his Management of the Forces in the Winter Service, as Governor of a Town, plainly manifested that if he had always the Liberty of Acting according to his own Sentiments, he would have equalled the greatest Commanders: Many were the Instances he continually gave of the Greatness of his Justice, and the Compassionateness of his Nature towards such as were the proper Objects of it; and when the Soldiers

diers during his Absence had plundered a Family, the Major upon Complaint to him by the Lady who was one of the first Quality, ordered Restitution to be made, to the most Minute Thing that was taken.

He was wonderfully Successful, with the detachments he frequently Commanded against the Rapperies, and usually brought back a far greater Number of Prisoners than his own Men consisted of: In a Word, his whole Conduct was so Heroick, Equitable, and Good, that it recommended him to the highest esteem of his Enemies; and when in a certain Action in that Country, he desired to know the respective Posts of some Persons, whom he had made Prisoners, that he might shew them that Respect which was due to their Merits: Some of them told him; *that he fought like a Lion, but Carressed with the Softness of a Lady.*

Mr. Wood in the Rappery War, wherein he was frequently very warmly engaged, had the misfortune to break his Leg, which confined him for some time, and gave the neighbouring Gentry, an opportunity to testify their Respects to him in the many visits they made:

Nay his Valour, Gentleness and Humanity were so conspicuous, that some of them got his Picture, of which several Coppies were drawn and sent up and down the Country to their Friends, as their Rescuer and Preserver. Among the Rest, there was a Lady of a considerable Quality, whose Person and Family, he had by his Authority, screen'd from the Outrages of the Soldiery, who invited him to go into France, whither herself and Family were retiring, with an Assurance of the French King's Favour to him; but the Love of his Religion and Country outweighing all other Considerations, he declined the Offer in such Civil and Obliging Terms, as were Peculiar to him, and Charm'd all that Converſed with him.

*Breaks his Leg.*

*Much Esteem'd by the Gentry.*



ted for money, the Regiment began  
tiny at *Charing-Cross*, for want of thei  
Arrears: *Wyndham* their Colonel desire  
*Wood* to take the Command upon his  
Day; he no sooner shew'd his Displeasur  
some warmth to them, upon their refus  
March, but their resolute and enraged  
pers were immediately charm'd into Dut  
Obedience.

*His Con-  
duct at  
Landen  
1693.*

His Conduct and Bravery in the Bat  
*Landen* drew upon him the greatest E  
ums, both from Friends and Enemies :  
he charg'd several Squadrons of the Ho  
Troops of *France*, with the Squadron he  
manded, and always broke them as ofte  
charg'd: The *French* themselves praised  
lour, and King *William*, who was an Ey  
ness of his Behaviour more than once  
day of Battle, was pleas'd to embrace him  
the Action was over; to Complement him  
being one of the best Horse Officers in  
land; and asked him what he should do fi  
seeing he had by the wise Retreat he made,  
the Honour of the English Nation, and  
immortal Honour for himself.

His Majesty, in some little time after  
sent him with a very fine Horse, to

a Commission of Colonel for a Regiment of *Made a* Horse; it bore date on the first of *December* Colonel 1693, and the Regiment he kept to his dying 1693. Day.

The Campaign of 1695 terminating with the glorious Conquest of *Namur*; the next produced nothing Memorable, and that of 1697, producing a general Peace at *Ryswick*, here give me leave to digress a little, and to observe; that one *Longue*, a *Frenchman*, who formerly had been an Operator to the famous Mr. *Robert Boyle*, quitting *England* and settling at *Ghent*, practised Physick there with good Success, especially amongst the *English*: But being, it seems, not Content with his Gain, he Coin'd false Money, and being detected, he was Try'd and Condemn'd for it. When he was put upon the Wreck, he confess'd that one Major *de Enyny*, of my Lord *Galway's* Regiment, was his Accomplish; but denying the same afterwards, before his Execution, which was done by throwing him into a Caldron of red hot Oyl; the Major had had the same Fate, if he had not met with favour from the *English* Governour, who found a way to keep him out of the Hands of the Civil Magistrate, till the Army went into the Field, which was in the Year 1697, when the Major was order'd to be try'd by a Court-Martial: of this Colonel *Wood* being President, the Major was broke, and made incapable of serving; at which his Friends were so very much enraged, that they talked very freely as well as scandalously, concerning the Decision of the Court; and particularly levell'd the Malice of their Tongues *Reflected* against the President. He coming to be in- *on.* form'd of all this, his Courage, and the due Sence he had both of his own Honour, and that of his Country, so sensibly affected him, that

His General  
Challenge.

he put upon the following Challenge on a Church Door, I think at *Brussels*.

‘Whereas the Proceedings of the Court-Martial which Cashier’d Major *Abraham de Fuyny*, of the Lord *Galway*’s Regiment, and whereof I was President, have been scandalously represented to the World, by some of that Nation : I do hereby declare, that if any Frenchman, of what Rank in the Army, or Quality whatsoever, has said, or does say, that the Court-Martial which Cashier’d the said *de Fuyny*, has done him any Injustice ; they are Rascals, Cowards and Villains, and do scandalously Lie : And that they all may know who it is that has publickly set up this Declaration, to vindicate the Honour of his Nation, of the Court-Martial, and of himself ; and to throw the villanous Scandal upon themselves, which most unworthily they wou’d have put upon an *English* Court-Martial, I have hereto set my Name,

*Cornelius Wood.*

Fights

and worsts with this general Challenge, all of them thought *de Fuyny*’s themselves concern’d therein, but more particularly Major *Fuyny*’s Brother ;

Brother.

who sending the Colonel a Letter in *French*, somewhat in the Nature of a Challenge, he gave it to his Aid de Camp to read, and tell him the Meaning of it ; for it seems the Colonel had no great Skill in that Language. The Gentleman having obey’d, he charg’d him to say nothing of the Contents of it to any Body whatsoever ; and then riding to *Brussels*, he went into the Park, and meeting with his Antagonist, he push’d so vigorously at him, that the *Frenchman* chose rather to trust to his Heels than his Sword ; the Colonel being in his Jack-Boots, could not overtake him, before he got out at the Gate ; he was

was also too nimble for Major-General *Davenport*, who was then in the Park, saw part of the Action, and hastened towards the Gate, in vain, to stop the Run-away. The Colonel having in this Manner put his Life at stake in Vindication of his Honour and his Country, had unwittingly run as great a hazard by fighting in the Park, which belong'd to the Court of *Brussels*, and was Death by the Law of that Country; but some Ladies interposing, soon procured his Pardon of the Elector of *Bavaria*: And the Colonel said upon that Occasion, 'That he was ignorant of the Laws of the Country, yet if it had been at the Altar he would have answered a Challenge, where the Honour of the *English* Nation, and his own Reputation requir'd a Vindication.

His Majesty King *William*, by the Peace concluded at *Ryswick*, as aforesaid, having put an end to the War, the Colonel with his Regiment were ordered to return to *England*: They happen'd in their Passage over to be in so violent a Storm, that most of their Horses died at Sea; but the King, who had a particular Esteem for Colonel *Wood*, upon the Account of his unusual Bravery, Fidelity and constant Services, ordered them to be remounted; so far were his Intentions from having them broke, as some others were to be: They quarter'd up and down the Countries during the Interval of the Peace, and the Colonel made them observe so good a Discipline, that the Places where they were, shew'd always a great Reluctancy to part with them.

The Colonel had not been long in *England* but the old Grudge about Cashiering of *de Assassina*; *Fuyny* was revived; and Revenge was intended to be taken in so base and ignominious a manner as no Man of Honour could possibly be guilty of: For one of the Gang lay *perdiu* near the Colonel's

lonel's Lodgings in *Gerrard Street*, and when he found his Opportunity, attempted to Assassinate him ; but being happily prevented by the Vigilance and Activity of the Colonel, he had the fate to be soundly beat by the Populace in the Neighbourhood, who had a great Esteem for the Colonel, and probably would have knock'd the vile Assasine on the Head, had not he generously interpos'd, and sav'd the Life of him who would have murder'd him. This was the occasion that made the Colonel put an Advertisement into the *Flying-Post* in the nature of a Challenge, or rather Defiance, of all those who durst tax him with Injustice, as President of the Court-Martial that broke *de Fuyy*; but I never could learn he was afterwards any way disquieted upon that Account.

*Made a  
Brigadier  
1701.*

A new War happening to break out on this side *Europe*, in the Year 1702, King *William* sometime before, made Mr. *Wood* a Brigadier-General ; and his Regiment being ordered for *Holland*, they landed at *Williamstadt* on the 12th of *April* that Year.

*Falls on  
the Rear  
of the  
French  
1702.*

The Brigadier, in the Campaign of 1702, was ever at his Duty ; it would be superfluous to enumerate all the Places then taken by the Allies, who on the 11th of *August* coming up in sight of the *French* Army, and falling to Cannonade each other very briskly, the latter thought fit to draw off in the Night, so that Brigadier *Wood* was order'd with some Squadrons to fall upon the Rear of them : This he did with so much vigour, that he took a good Number of Prisoners, but he had Orders sent him to return and leave off the Pursuit. The Campaign of 1703 was unactive, and nothing Memorable done in it.

Brigadier *Wood*, who was so constant in his Duty, would have thought himself unhappy, if he had not had his share in the glorious  
Actions

Actions perform'd by the *English* in *Germany* in 1704. The Entrenchments of the Enemy at *Schellenberg* being attack'd by a Detachment of Horse and Foot, on the 2d of *July*, they found it to be the hottest Work they had ever met with, and none, in his Station, behaved himself with more Bravery than the Brigadier: Count *Stirum*, who was there mortally wounded, observing his Conduct, Valour, and undisturb'd Presence of Mind in the sharpest Dangers, gave him very high Commendations: Before the Action was over he received a great Contusion on his Breast by a Musket-Ball, by which his Life was much endanger'd; so that he was carried to the Town of *Donawert*, which became the immediate Reward of the glorious Victory of *Schellenberg*; a Pass, as Tradition goes, which had been assaulted above twenty several times, and was never carried but by *Gustavus Adolphus*, and the *English*, on this most memorable Occasion.

The Brigadier having lain ill at *Donawert* about five Weeks, but hearing the Confederate Army had Orders to march towards the Enemy, and that there was great Appearance of their coming to Action; he left that Place, tho' not quite recovered, and join'd the Army. That never-to-be-forgotten Battle of *Blenheim* was fought on the 12th of *August*, in the beginning of which the Brigadier was ordered, with 15 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, to sustain 20 Battalions of Foot, that was order'd to attack the Village of *Blenheim*, where he behaved himself with his wonted Bravery, during the whole Day, and contributed his full share to a Victory, which none of the later Ages of the World can parallel: In a Poem upon this occasion he is brought in thus;

Wood

Wood used to Danger, but unused to Fear,  
 Equal as Justice, and as Truth sincere;  
 No braver Man e'er drew an English Sword,  
 None truer to his Country, and his Word.

**His Letter about the Battle of Blenheim.** In a Letter of his to a Friend, dated October 17th, from the Camp at *Weissenberg*, he expresses himself thus concerning this Battle;

‘WE are now far (from you in *Alsatia*) covering the Siege of *Landau*; after a very long March from *Breda* to the *Danube*, we Encounter’d the *Bavarians* in their Retrenchments at *Schellenberg*, and totally routed them, to their unexpressible Loss and Damage; and six Weeks after fought another bloody Battle at *Blenheim*, where the Enemy had as total an Overthrow, as I believe *France* will not easily forget. My Regiment suffer’d much in that Action, having several brave Men kill’d and wounded; but, continues he, such is the cruel Chance of War; these Losses must be forgot in the Joy of two such Victories, which ought to be remember’d with Gladness.

**Made Major-General.**

The Duke of *Marlborough* was so very well satisfied with the Brigadier’s Behaviour in all this Campaign, that after this bloody Battle was over, he declar’d him a Major-General.

**Sick at Breda 1705.**

The Troops next Campaign, 1705, march’d early out of Garrison, and made a second March into *Germany*, near *Thionville*; but Major-General *Wood* being very ill of a Fever, was left at *Breda*. Our Affairs not succeeding in *Germany*, the Army march’d back into *Brabant*, where he join’d it in the Month of *July*, at the Camp of *Trogny*, near the *French Lines*: In a short time after, they began their March in the Evening, and march’d all Night, so that the next Morning, being

being the 17th of that Month, they came up to the Enemies Lines near *Tirlemont*, and pass'd them at the Village of *Neerhespin*, without any Opposition : But before the Allies could well form a Body within the Lines, the Enemy came down upon them with a Body of 40 Squadrons, and 11 Battalions, Commanded by the Duke de *Requelaure* ; but they charg'd them so briskly with what Horse they had got over, that they immediately put them to flight, taking two Lieutenant-Generals, and a great Number of Prisoners. Major-General *Wood*, according to his usual Custom, was in the hottest Charge all the time of the Action.

Having quarter'd this Winter at *Breda*, they In the Bat- had not been long in the Field in 1706, but they <sup>the of Ra-</sup> had Intelligence of the approach of the *French* <sup>melles</sup> Army, and this brought on the famous Battle of 1706. *Ramellies*, in which the General fell in with the Elector of *Bavaria's* Guards, which were entirely defeated, and took a great Number of Prisoners : The Consequence of this most glorious Victory was the taking of fourteen strong fortified Towns ; and the Allies having thereby got a great part of *Flanders* into their Power, the Major-General upon the Close of the Campaign march'd at the Head of the Troops into *Ghent*.

The next Campaign produced nothing extra- Made ordinary, and so gave Mr. *Wood* no opportunity <sup>Lieu-</sup> to signalize himself, he was now made Lieutenant- <sup>renant-</sup> General of Horse, and arrived before he died to General be the eldest in that Post. 1707.

Having contributed his utmost share to the defeat of the *French* Army in the Battle of *Audenard*, and the Allies thereupon forming the Siege of *Lille*, the Lieutenant-General was detach'd thither with a great Body of Horse, and continued at his Duty during the unusual Length <sup>At the</sup> of so Memorable a Siege. <sup>Siege of</sup> <sup>Lille 1708.</sup>

The



Governor  
of Ghent  
1708.

The Allies having surmounted so many Difficulties, which must have been insuperable to any Generals and Soldiers but theirs; and after a Siege of seventeen Weeks and three Days, made themselves Masters of *Lisse*, they would not go into Quarters till they had recover'd *Bruges* and *Ghent*; which last Place being surrendred to them, Lieutenant-General *Wood* Commanded there in chief that Winter; and his Behaviour was so agreeable to the Burghers, that they presented him with a large piece of Plate, which he left at his Death for a Legacy to the Duke of *Ormond*, as a Testimony of his Obligations to his Grace, and of the mighty Esteem he had for the generous Qualities that shone in that illustrious Person.

At the  
Siege of  
Tournay  
1709.

The Allies in the Year 1709 having form'd the Siege of *Tournay*, Lieutenant-General *Wood* was detach'd thither with about 60 Squadrons of Horse under his Command, and having continued there with his usual Vigilancy till the Town and Citadel were surrendred: He made as expeditious a March as possibly he could to join the Grand Army near *Mons*, and had his share of Glory in the bloody Battle of *Tanieres*, wherein he continued during the whole Action.

The Particulars of the Campaign of 1710 I shall not enter upon, during which the Lieutenant-General commanded the Cavalry at the Siege of *Bethune*: In a Word, the Allies having concluded that Campaign with several new Conquests, *Ghent* was again allotted Lieutenant-General *Wood* for his Quarters and Government. All the Troops which were design'd for that Garrison, being on their March the day before they were to enter into it, and the Lieutenant-General mounted on an unruly Stone Horse, he reared strait up with him, fell backwards upon him, broke his Collar-bone, and so  
bruised

bruised his Stomach, that he never could recover *Bruised* it: He was immediately blooded and put into a *with a* Coach, and carried that Night into *Ghent*; but *fall from* did not stir out of his Room, till the Month of *a Horse* *May* following in 1711, tho' he Commanded *'710.* there in Chief. He continued still to be very weak, tho' in *July* he adventur'd to go to the Army, where he continued till after the surrender of *Bouchain*, from whence he went to *Aix la Chapelle*; but finding no Benefit there, he return'd to *Ghent*, and so with great Difficulty, he being very weak, got over in *November* into *England*. Here all the Art of the Physician being not able to do him any good, he languish'd some time, till Death put an end to all his Toils at the *Gravel-Pits* near *Kensington*, on the 17th *Death and* day of *May*, in the 75th Year of his Age. *Age.*

As to the General's Character, he was pretty *Character* low of Stature, a handsom Person, of a very courteous and winning Behaviour, a fine Spokesman, and of a clear and deep Judgment; he had a great share of Sincerity in his Nature, and was of a kind and compassionate Temper; declaring it to be the greatest Pleasure in the World to be doing Good: And indeed it was no small Satisfaction to his Relations as well as to himself undoubtedly, to find him able to say, *That he never did any thing out of Malice in his Life.* No Man Braver, or could be more Diligent in the Service he was imploy'd than himself; and 'tis none of the least of his Praises, especially in an Age so mercenary, and wherein Money has infinitely prevailed above Merit, both in Court and Camp, that he never sold a Post in his Regiment in his Life. He never was absent from his Duty, but went constantly into and out of the Field with the Troops: In a word, he was good to all Relations, as a Son, Brother and Friend: He never was married.

*His Will.* As to his Will, he left 700 *l.* to Charitable Uses of which these are the Particulars; 400 *l.* to the Parsonage where he was buried, being *St. Leonard's*, near *Ailsbury* in *Buckinghamshire*; 100 to the Poor of the Parishes that he was carried through to be buried; 100 *l.* to the Poor of the Garrison of *Ghent*; 100 *l.* to the poor of his own Regiment. What other Legacies he left, added to this, will make up above 5000 *l.* besides what he left amongst his Relations; which was very Considerable.

There is a Noble Monument erecting for him to be put up at *St. Leonard's* aforesaid with an Inscription; but the same being not yet finish'd, it may have Room with some other things in the next Volume by way of Appendix to this, with References to the Lives and Pages.





MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
FAMILY  
OF  
GODOLPHIN,  
More particularly the  
LIFE  
OF  
*Sidney, Earl of Godolphin,*  
Sometime Lord High-Treasurer of  
*Great-Britain.*



HIS Family takes its Surname *Origin*  
from *Godolphin*, anciently, says *and Bys*  
*Camden*, written *Godalcan*, a *minery* of  
Hill famous for Tin-Mines in *Godolphin*  
the County of *Cornwall*: Its pro-  
bable the Name, with some lit-  
tle Variation, was originally  
*Phanitian*; seeing *Sammes*, in his *Britannia*, ob-  
serves

serves that *Godolphin* in that Language, signifies *A Place of Tin*, for which Commerce those ancient, and I may say, first Navigators Traded in the Early times of the *Postorian World* into this *Island*. However may be, the name of *Godolphin* in the *Cornish* Dialect imply's a White Eagle, which they usually have constantly Born as Part of their Arms. Nor has it wanted for many centuries Branches thereof, to illustrate the same; the first raised to the Dignity of Peerage, *Sidney Godolphin* second Son of Sir *Francis Godolphin*, of *Godolphin* aforesaid Baronet; which *Francis*, tho' obliged thro' the Iniquity of his times to carry it fair with the Reigning

Sir Francis Godolphin.

Sidney Godolphin.

Made Groom of the Bed-Chamber.

Member for Helston.

Envoy in Holland.

ers, having, as he had Ability and Opportunity made Remittances to his Sovereign King *Charles II.* in the time of his Exile, was very agreeable to that Prince upon his Restoration whom nevertheless he desired no other Father than to provide for this his second Son *Sidney*. It's a Commonly received Opinion that *King Charles II.* made him at first his Page; and afterwards he was promoted to the Honorable Post of one of the Grooms of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber which he held for several Years, and in the mean time, became a Member for *Helston* in *Cornwall*, to serve in the Parliament which began at *Westminster* on the 8th of *May*, 1661.

*King Charles II.* in the year 1678, furnished by his Ministers in *Holland* that the House of the *Dutch* ran violently into a separate Faction he dispatched Mr. *Godolphin* his Envoy to that Country to bring the last and truest Account he could get of the Resolutions there upon that grand Affair, and to return with the greatest Speed he could: He did so, and brought the same Account of all Dispositions, which *Hide*, afterwards Earl of *Rochester*, had before.

Now the *French* Ambassador in *England* beginning to Change his Language from that, that the King should always be Arbitrer of the Peace, into Expostulations, why his Majesty should pretend to obtain better Terms, for the Spaniards, than their Allies the Dutch were content with; the King thereupon pressed Sir William Temple to go over to know the Final Resolutions of the States, whether they would yet go on with the War, in Case his Majesty should go into it? but Sir William having excused himself, he Posted Mr. Godolphin again into *Holland* to found them as to their last Resolutions. He had been there but a very short time, before he wrote to Court that the Dutch resolutely desired the Peace, even upon the Terms proposed by *France*, and had resolved to send Monsieur van *Lewen* over into *England* to dispose the King to be Contented with it.

Envoy as  
Second  
time.

Mr. Godolphin had not been long return'd, but Sir William Temple was appointed once more to go into *Holland*, to Conclude a firm Alliance with the States, to enter Heartily into the War, in Case the *French* persisted in their Refusal to evacuate the Towns they were to deliver up to the Spaniards by a time prefixed, upon which Mr. Godolphin told him, that If he brought the States to the Treaty, he would move the Parliament to have his Statue put up: Sir William, who was always acceptable to the Dutch, soon concluded it; and in the Course of his Memoirs taking Notice of the Arrears of Money due to him and which he had expended upon the publick Account; he makes this Reflection upon Mr. Godolphin who perhaps could not serve him according to his Expectations. That after having both said and writ to him that he would move to have his Statue set up, if he compassed that Treaty; he sat several Years since in the Treasury, and saw

Sir Wil-  
liam Tem-  
ple re-  
flects upon  
him.

‘ him want that very Money, and which he  
 ‘ was like to leave a Debt upon his Estate and  
 ‘ Family.

*Made  
 Commis-  
 sioner of  
 the Treas-  
 ury 1679.*

Mr. *Godolphin* in the Distractions of the times, which came on, occasioned by the Breaking out of the Popist Plot and other Incidences, keeping Steddy to the Court, his Majesty upon the Removall of the Earl of *Danby* from being Treasurer, was pleased to make him on the 26th of *March 1679*, the last of the four Commissioners of the Treasury.

*Speech in  
 the House  
 of Com-  
 mons a-  
 bout the  
 Address.*

Being at the same time a Member of the House of Commons, he was observed to be none of the forwardest Speakers amongst them; Taciturnity being much more Natural than Loquaciousness to him: However finding the Commons warm in the Prosecution of the Plot and ready ever and anon to Address the King to grant Pensions to one or other of the Evidences: He could not less than take notice of it; saying among other things ‘ that since they were  
 ‘ so forward in their Addresses to his Majesty  
 ‘ to give such Pensions, he thought it would be  
 ‘ necessary for them to consider of the Means to  
 ‘ enable him to do it.

*A Privy  
 Councillor.*

But to return, the Commission above mentioned did not last long; the Earl of *Essex*, who was first Commissioner growing discontented and throwing up, a new one was issued out, wherein Mr. *Hide* and Mr. *Godolphin* were continued and both of them admitted into his Majesty’s Privy Council; and these two joyn- ing now in Confidence with the Earl of *Sunderland*, this Triumvirate were esteemed to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King’s Affairs and looked upon as the Ministry.

Mr. *Godolphin* was chosen a Member for *Holston* in all the succeeding Parliaments of that Reign and his Majesty during the sitting of the

the *Westminster* Parliament in 1680 resolving to send his last Answer to the Commons, containing his Resolutions never to consent to the Exclusion of the Duke of *Tork* from the Succession; Sir *Lionell Jenkins*, then Secretary of State, was on the Council Night, *January 3d.* Charged with it; but he was thought too unacceptable to the House, it seems, for a message that was like to prove so; and next Morning the King would have Sir *Robert Carr* or Mr. *Godolphin* have carryed it; but they both excused themselves and Sir *William Temple* at last did it.

His Majesty continued Mr. *Godolphin* to be one of the Commissioners of the Treasury till about the middle of *April 1684*, when Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, being grown aged and infirm in 1684. Body, resign'd his Place of Secretary of State, upon which the King was pleased to put Mr. *Godolphin* into that Office in his Stead, and he was on the 17th of that Month Sworn into it at a Council held at *Hampton-Court*.

He continued but a few Months in this Post, for the Earl of *Rocheſter* being made President of the Council, in the Room of the old Earl of *Radnor*, who had his *Queit*, Mr. *Godolphin* on the 24th of *August* was made first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and thereupon *Charles* Earl of *Middleton* was made Secretary of State in his Room.

Mr. *Godolphin* growing Daily more and more in Favour with his Royal Master, he was pleased by a Patent bearing Date on the 8th of *September* the same Year, to advance him to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the style and Title of Lord *Godolphin* of *Rialton* in the County of *Cornwall*.

His Lordship upon the Accession of King *James II.* to the Throne, was in no less Favour with that Prince, who in the Beginning



Second  
Commis-  
sioner of  
the Treas-  
ury.

of his Reign having thought fit to Constitute his Brother in Law *Lawrence Earl of Rochester* Lord High Treasurer of *England*, that Lord *Godolphin* might not go unprovided for was pleased to make him Lord Chamberlain to his Queen. But King *James* being desirous to bring the Earl of *Rochester* over to his Religion, and not able to Effect it, he thought fit about the End of the Year 1686, to take the White Staff from him, and to put the Treasury once more into Commission, of which Lord *Godolphin* was made the second Commissioner: The other Commissioners were *John Bellasys*, *Henry Lord Dover*, Sir *John Evelyn* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir *St. John Fox*, Clerk of the Green Cloth; and because the two First were *Roman Catholics*, a severe, unreasonable and scandalous Reflection was made upon his Lordship in the Libel of the High-Church Party, since his being put out of the Treasury and prime Ministry in her Majesty's Reign, that he had Acted joyn't Commission with Papists.

One of the  
Regency  
during  
King  
*James* Ab-  
sence in  
the West.

One thing which escaped the Cognizance of my Lord *Godolphin*'s Enemies, and was undoubtedly they would have made Plein use of to his Disreputation was this, that King *James* being resolved to go in Person to *West* to oppose the Prince of *Orange*, his Lordship was the last in the number of those whom he Committed the Administration of Affairs in his Absence; the rest were the

One of the  
King's  
Commis-  
sioners to  
Treat  
with the  
Prince of  
Orange,  
1688.

Chancellor *Jessays*, the Lords *Arundel* and *Bellasys* both Papists, and the Lord *Pringle* which was not at all to the People's Satisfaction. The unfortunate King, after his return from *Salisbury* to *London*, thought it proper to send to the Prince of *Orange* at *Hungerford*, certain Proposals for an Accommodation, and my Lord *Godolphin* was one

the three who were appointed to be the King's Commissioners, the Marquess of *Hallifax* and the Earl of *Nottingham* being the other two; they deliver'd their Proposals on the 8th of *December* 1688, to his Highness, who instead of giving a direct Answer to them, making some Demands of his own, which the King did not like, he thereupon withdrew; and then my Lord *Godolphin* with the rest fell in with the rising Fortune of the Prince of *Orange*.

His Lordship, as well as many other noble Peers, having a very tender regard to the Succession, was one of those in the Convention Parliament that was for a Regency; so were the Dukes of *Somerset*, *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton*, *Beaufort* and *Northumberland*; the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Clarendon*, *Rochester*, *Craven*, *Westmoreland*, *Scarsdale*, *Chesterfield*, *Litchfield*, *Tarmouth* and *Lindsey*; the Barons *Coventry*, *Brook*, *Leigh*, *Ferrers*, *Maynard*, *Chandos*, *Jermin*, *Arundel* of *Trerice* and *Dartmouth*: But the Duke of *Ormond* and the three natural Sons of King *Charles II.* were soon brought over to the other Lords, who were for filling the vacant Throne with the Prince and Princess of *Orange*.

Here give me leave, before I proceed any farther, to observe that King *James*, during the two Days that he tarried at *London*, after his return from *Feverham*, having dispatch'd several Affairs, and, among others, issued some Orders in respect to the Payment of Money he had left in the Treasury, but the Auditor refusing to do it, till the Arrival of the Prince of *Orange*; that King, in his Exigency, could think of no other Expedient then to send to my Lord *Godolphin* from *Rocheſter*, to let him have an hundred Guineas; which his Lordship, I think to his Honour, readily sent him, who had been a kind Master to him.

Sends  
King  
James 100  
Guineas  
to Rocheſter.

Mr.  
Hamb-  
den's  
Speech a-  
gainst him.

Envy, which very rarely fails to attend Men in high Stations, accompanied his Lordship and others in some degree, during the second Session of the Convention Parliament : And one of those who distinguish'd himself most in the House of Commons this way, was Mr. *John Hambden*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Son ; who on the 14th of *December* 1689, made a long Speech against those who had the Management of the Publick Affairs ; the Marquess of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and especially the Lord *Godolphin*, were struck at : He said he could not be sufficiently astonish'd, that those Persons who had been employ'd by King *James*, had the Administration of Affairs in their Hands ; even those, who when his Affairs were in the most desperate State, he had pitch'd upon to treat with the Prince of *Orange* for an Accommodation ; he cited the Example of *William* Prince of *Orange*, who never made use of the Ministers of the Duke of *Alva* ; of *Henry* IV. of *France*, who did not employ those who had sided with the Duke of *Muine*, and some others out of History, in order to excite the House to address the King to have them removed. He also complained, that Men of Republican Principles were employ'd, which, considering the Actions and Behaviour of some of his Ancestors, looked very singular, and occasioned some Mirth for the present in the House.

Answered  
by others.

When the Members had compos'd themselves, some of the opposite side stood up and said, that when King *James* made use of those three Ministers, they had not, at least the first two of them, any Employments, and that he did not make use of them as Persons in whom he confided, but as such as would be agreeable to the Prince, and have the Approbation of the Nation. But tho' Mr. *Hambden* could not entirely gain

gain the Point he aim'd at, his Speech had its Effect; for the House resolv'd upon an Address to his Majesty, representing the ill Management and bad Success of the Affairs of *Ireland*, Army and Navy, and praying him to reflect thereupon; and by his Royal Wisdom to detect the Authors of these Mischiefs, in order to the Punishment of them; as also to entrust the Management of Affairs with *Persons free from all suspicion*, as well for his own, as the Satisfaction of his People.

King *William* and Queen *Mary* were no sooner advanced to the *English* Throne, but his Majesty was pleas'd to appoint the Lord *Godolphin* third Commissioner of the Treasury; the two first were *Charles* Lord *Mordaunt*, now Earl of *Peterborough* and *Monmouth*, and *Henry* Lord *de la Mere*, afterwards Earl of *Warrington*, deceased: The other Commissioners were *Richard Hampden*, Esq; and *Sir Henry Capel*, Knight of the *Bath*. Made 3d Commissioner of the Treasury by King William 1689.

The Management of the Treasury seem'd to depend chiefly upon my Lord *Godolphin*, who had been in it off and on for ten Years last past, and none of the other Commissioners ever employ'd in that intricate Office before; and so it continued to be till about the middle of *November* 1690, when his Majesty having order'd a new Commission to pass the Great Seal, his Lordship was Constituted the first Commissioner in it; the other four were *Sir John Lowther* of *Lowther*, Bar. Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, *Richard Hampden*, Esq; Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Sir Stephen Fox*, Kt. and *Thomas Pelham*, Esq; First Commissioner of the Treasury 1690.

This Commission having held till *March* 1691-2, there was a new one granted then, in which his Lordship still presid'd; in- stead of *Sir John Lowther*, and *Mr. Pelham*, who resign'd their Offices, were insert'd *Sir Edward*

*Edward Seymour*, Bar. and *Charles Montague*, Esq; the rest stood as before.

The handy Stroke of Divine Providence falling heavy upon this Nation, by depriving us of the most excellent Queen *Mary*, who died of the Small-Pox in the *Christmas* Holy-days of 1694, and his Majesty the following Spring going over to head the Confederate Army in the *Netherlands*; he deputed nine Lords Justices for the Administration of Affairs during his Absence: Of these my Lord *Godolphin* was one, the other eight being the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*; Sir *John Somers*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Privy-Seal; *William* Duke of *Devonshire*, Lord Steward of the Household; *Charles* Duke of *Shrewsbury*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and *Charles* Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

One of the  
Lords Jus-  
tices of  
England  
1695.

My Lord  
Portland's  
Grant in  
Wales  
comes be-  
fore them.

I find his Lordship still at the head of the Treasury in the Summer of this Year 1695, but it must be by vertue of a new Commission, his Colleagues being Sir *Stephen Fox*, Sir *William Trumbull* and *John Smith*, Esquires; Mr. *Montague* was another, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: It was before the Lord *Godolphin* and the other three came the Business of the Grant of the Lordships of *Denbigh*, *Bromfield* and *Tale*, in the County of *Denbigh*, to the Earl of *Portland*, to be heard, before the Warrant passed, upon the Complaint of some Gentlemen of that Country; who having spoken fully to the Matter, and especially Mr. *Priest*, now one of the Barons of the Exchequer: My Lord *Godolphin* said, *Had not the Earl of Leicester those Lordships in Grant to him in Queen Elizabeth's time?* Sir *Robert Cotton* answer'd, 'I believe I can give the best Account in that Case; the Earl of *Leicester* had but one of those Lordships, and that was *Denbigh*: He was so Oppressive

‘ pressive to the Gentry of the Country, that  
 ‘ he occasion’d them to take up Arms to op-  
 ‘ pose him ; for which three or four of my Wife’s  
 ‘ Relations, the *Salisbury’s* were hang’d ; but  
 ‘ it ended not there, for the Quarrel was still  
 ‘ kept on Foot, and the Earl, glad to be at  
 ‘ Peace, and so granted it back to the Queen,  
 ‘ and it has been ever since in the Crown.  
 Then my Lord *Godolphin* rejoin’d, ‘ You have  
 ‘ offered many weighty Reasons, and we shall  
 ‘ represent them to his Majesty. Which his  
 Lordship did in so fair and equitable a Manner,  
 that the Grant was quite made void.

The Affair of the wicked Assassination Plot, *One of the*  
 and the Coin, being pretty well over, and his *Lords Ju-*  
 Majesty’s Presence being necessary in the *Ne- stices a se-*  
*therlands*, he embark’d about the beginning of *cond time*  
 May 1696, for that Country, leaving the Arch- 1696.  
 bishop of *Canterbury* ; the Lord Keeper *Somers* ;  
 the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Privy-Seal ;  
 the Duke of *Devonshire*, Lord Steward ; Duke  
 of *Shrewsbury*, Secretary of State ; the Earl  
 of *Dorset*, Lord Chamberlain ; and the Lord  
*Godolphin*, first Lord Commissioner of the Trea-  
 sury, to be Lord’s Justices in his Absence.

Changes sometime after this were made in *Put out of*  
 the Commissioners of the Treasury ; for Sir *the Trea-*  
*William Trumball* was made Secretary of State, *surj.*  
 and I find *Charles Montague*, Esq; to be first Lord  
 Commissioner of the Treasury, in May 1699.  
 My Lord *Godolphin* was out of that Post of  
 Course, which, upon the Removal of Mr. *Mon-*  
*tague*, to be Auditor of the Exchequer next Year,  
 was supply’d by *Ford*, Earl of *Tankerville* ; who  
 continuing therein till November 1700, or there-  
 abouts, and the Place of Lord Privy-Seal be-  
 coming vacant by the Death of the Lord Vis-  
 count *Longdale*, he was promoted to that high  
 Office ; and my Lord *Godolphin* once more  
 Constituted first Lord Commissioner of the  
 Treasury.

*Made first  
 Commis-  
 sioner again  
 1700.*

His

*Made one of the Lords Justices a third time 1701.* His Majesty's Affairs requiring his Presence in *Holland*, about the end of *June 1701*, he was pleased to honour him a third time with being one of the Lords Justices of *England*, for the Administration of the Government during the King's Absence; the rest were, *Thomas*, Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*; Sir *Nathan Wright*, Kt. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; *Thomas* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Lord President of the Council, and first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty; *William* Duke of *Devonshire*, Lord Steward of the Household; *Charles* Duke of *Somerset*, and *Edward* Earl of *Jersey*, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

*Quits the Treasury.* It was the last time his Lordship was to serve his Country in this great Capacity; for his Majesty did not live to return into *Holland* any more, tho' he did to come into *England* once again; sometime after which my Lord *Godolphin* thought fit to throw up his Post in the Treasury: It was a current Report at that time, that it was done on purpose, the better to make his Court to the Successor, and the way the easier to the White Staff in the succeeding Reign; but of this let others Judge. I shall proceed with my Memoirs of this great Man without any Favour or Affection, till I bring him to his Grave, whither we are all hastening; only I must observe, that his Lordship had been a long time in the good Graces of that Princess, having serv'd her in her Father's Reign, when her own Uncle the Earl of *Rocheſter* declin'd it, by speaking on her behalf, and at her request, to the King, about clearing some Arrears of Debts, which was thoroughly effected.

There had been but four Lords Treasurers made since the Restoration of King *Charles II.* in 1660, to the time of the Accession of Queen  
*Anne*

*Anne* to the Throne of her Ancestors, and those were *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*; *Thomas* Lord *Clifford* of *Chudleigh*; *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, and *Lawrence* Earl of *Rocheſter*; which laſt being diſcharged of that great Office, by reaſon he would not be of his Maſter's Religion; the Treafury for the Remainder of *K. James II.* and the whole Reign of King *William III.* was managed by Lords Commiſſioners: But her Maſteſty being fully ſatisfied of the Integrity and Ability of my Lord *Godolphin*, to manage the whole himſelf, was pleaſed in *May 1702*, a few Days after her Coronation, Made to advance his Lordſhip to the Office of Lord *Lord* High Treafurer of *England*; and his Lordſhip *Treafurer* on the 12th of the ſame Month, being accom- of Eng-  
panied by a great Number of the Nobility, land,  
and other Perſons of Quality, and attended by the Officers of the Exchequer, with ſeveral others of the Revenue, went to *Weſtminſter-hall*, where the uſual Oaths were adminiſtered to him, as well in the Court of Chancery as in the Exchequer.

The weight of Affairs lying chiefly now upon his Lordſhip's Shoulders, he omitted nothing on his part that might carry them on with ſucceſs both at Home and Abroad; and well knowing that nothing would engage the Subject to bear the Burden of a new War with more Chearfulneſs, than the Prince's taking a ſhare of it; he adviſed her Maſteſty to contribute one hundred thouſand Pounds out of the Civil Liſt towards it. And as Venality in a Court is one of the moſt pernicious, as well as the moſt common Vice of the Age; he was one of thoſe faithful *Advise*  
and able Counſellors who adviſed her Maſteſty *the Queen*  
to declare in Council, on the 9th of *July*, at *Hampton-Court*, that ſhe judged the ſelling of *againſt*  
Offices and Places, in her Houſhold and Fa- *ſuffering*  
mily, to be highly Diſhonourable to her, Pre- *Places to*  
*be ſold.*  
judicial



be of her Family or Household, should p  
to sell or buy, or suffer to be sold or boug  
Office or Place therein, under Pain of  
ring her Majesty's Displeasure; and being  
ved from her Service.

Good Laws and Orders, however Con  
able in themselves, become neverthele  
more Contemptible, by how much the du  
cution of them is neglected : And I wist  
were not too much Truth in this Part  
which is ungrateful to dwell upon ; and the  
let us proceed to observe, that her Majesty,  
the end of this Year, having appointed, in  
ance of an Act of Parliament, both in *E*  
and *Scotland*, Commissioners to treat of  
nion between the two Nations : Its a litt  
prizing in looking over the List, to fir  
Lord Treasurer's Name wanting, seeing  
ther great Officers of the Crown are  
Number, and even his own Brother, (  
*Godolphin*, Esq; first Commissioner of t  
stom : Perhaps it may be inserted in the  
mission, and omitted by mistake in the Li  
Printed ; be it as it will, his Lordship w  
doubtedly at this time the main Engin  
gave Motion to the Wheels of State, th  
could not with all his Address bring th

was lost for this time; and Things took such a Turn before the Bill came upon the Stage again in another Session, that there was much less likelihood of carrying it than before. The four principal Ministers of State since the Queen's coming to the Crown, were the Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Earl of *Rochester*: Now the last of these being Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the Queen's Maternal Uncle, it wrought a grand Jealousie in the two former, lest he might over-top them entirely in her Majesty's Favour; and therefore there was no more convenient Expedient for the present to get rid of their Fears, than to get him sent to his Government, where there was a Parliament to be held before the end of the Summer. The Earl grew jealous of the Contrivance, and chose rather to throw up than lose his Station here; by which stiffness he indeed lost both, and retir'd from Court: Upon which the Earl of *Nottingham*, being either not able or unwilling to stand it longer, quitted his Post of Secretary of State in *April 1704*, and these two became the Head of the *High Church* Party, as the other did of the *Low*; which the Lord Treasurer especially was never so much as suspected to favour before. Its true, his Lordship voted for the second Bill, but then the opposite Party affirm'd he made all the Interest he could against it at the same time; a Practice not uncommon with great Statesmen: Nay, before this Session of Parliament came on, Dr. *Davenant* published a Book entitul'd, *Essays on Peace at Home, and War Abroad*, and that with the Approbation and Incouragement of my Lord Treasurer, wherein he enforc'd what her Majesty had before Recommended from the Throne; and endeavour'd to bring all Parties to throw off Heats and Animositities, and to unite in their

their own defence, against the common Danger. This way of Proceeding occasion'd great Warmth in the House of Commons, one of the Members, among other tart things, crying out shame that they who had given fourscore Millions of Money for the Protestant Religion, should have *Trimming* at last in a Bill to prevent Hypocrisie : To which he added, ' This in plain *English* makes me believe this Ministry has too great a Resemblance to the last, ' that my Lord S-----d is risen from the dead, ' and now become prime Minister of State.

Mr. *Charles Cesar* was also as severe, and more daring and open against his Lordship about this time ; for an ingrossed Bill from the

Mr. Cesar. Lords, entituled, *An Act for the better Secu-*  
lar's Speechrity of her Majesty's Person and Government,  
against and of the Succession of the Crown in the Protes-  
tant Line; being read on the 19th of Decem-

ber in the House of Commons a second time, that Gentleman, upon the Debate, standing up in his Place, said these Words : ' There is a noble Lord without whose Advice the Queen does nothing, who in the late Reign was known to keep a constant Correspondence with the Court of *St. Germain's*. The House

Mr. Cesar taking Offence at the Words, they were directed to be set down in Writing at the Table; sent to the Tower. and Mr. *Cesar* thereupon endeavouring to excuse himself, he was called upon to withdraw, which he did accordingly ; and a Debate arising thereupon, the House resolv'd that the said Words were highly Dishonourable to her Majesty's Person and Government, and that Mr. *Cesar*, for that Offence, should be Committed Prisoner to the *Tower*, where he continued to the end of the Session; for he would not Petition for his Liberty.

His Lordship's Friends, I remember very well, did not scruple at that time to own that the Fact was true, but that there was a wrong Turn given it; for my Lord *Godolphin* having been Lord Chamberlain to King *James* his Queen, and being writ to by her from *France* to desire she might have her Coach, and some other Necessaries sent her from *England*; he comply'd with her Request by King *William's* Approbation, who ordered him to keep up his Correspondence with that Court, which he did very much to his Majesty's Satisfaction.

My Lord *Haverham* in the House of Lords, would also have a fling at his Lordship, and another great Man, in a set Speech there; out of which take the following Paragraph, 'There is one thing more, my Lords, which I will at present but name, because upon some other Occasion I intend to speak more upon that Point: It may perhaps seem too big to be nam'd, but I shall never think any thing so that may prove dangerous to the Crown and Government; *It's the extraordinary Favour of one or two Persons*: A thing that has been very fatal to the Royal Family, and what has been, may be. I will only in short say, when all the Favour is bestow'd upon one or two Persons; when all the Power by Sea and Land is either virtually or openly in one Hand; when all the Offices, like a set of Locks, are Commanded by one *Master-Key*, I pray God it never prove fatal to Crown and Country.

Now the *Review* of that time having fallen foul on the Lord *Haverham's* Speech, his Lordship thought fit to publish a Vindication of it; wherein, among other things, he very sharply attack'd my Lord *Godolphin*; for he is the Person chiefly struck at, saying, 'Had I ever been suspected with holding Intelligence with *St. Germans*, or the *French King*? Had my Name  
 Z been

‘been ever used in any *French* or *Scotch* Plots,  
 ‘or mention’d in the Confession of any dying  
 ‘Man? Had I, being an *English* Man, advis’d  
 ‘the Queen to pass the Act of Security in  
 ‘*Scotland*; or the removing or laying aside  
 ‘any of the *Scotch* Lords, while they were pro-  
 ‘moting and endeavouring to bring the Suc-  
 ‘cession to bear the two last Sessions of the  
 ‘*Scotch* Parliament? Or had I before that, up-  
 ‘on the presumptive Confidence of my own  
 ‘Judgment, without Communicating the Mat-  
 ‘ter to any other Person, singly advis’d the  
 ‘passing the Act of Peace and War in *Scot-*  
 ‘*land*; and endeavour’d to shelter my self from  
 ‘that Imputation, by perswading the World,  
 ‘that others, who knew nothing of it, were  
 ‘as much concern’d in that Advice as my self?  
 These might have been some tollerable Grounds  
 to have justified the Pamphleteer’s Reflections,  
 &c.

*Complimented in* Notwithstanding any Bickerings of this Kind,  
*Addresses* my Lord Treasurer in these Times was in so  
 1704. general an Esteem for the wise Management of  
 Affairs, that there was frequent Notice taken of  
 it in the Addresses of Congratulation to her Ma-  
 jesty upon the glorious and never-to-be forgot-  
 ten Victory obtained at *Hockley*; and in that  
 from *Fox* in *Cornwall*, presented by *George*  
*Granville*, Esq; now Lord *Lansdown*; after the  
 following Complement upon the Duke of *Marl-*  
*borough*, ‘We cannot but admire the good Pro-  
 ‘vidence of God, who has ordained at this time,  
 ‘that the General who now leads your Armies  
 ‘to Victory, who has not only retrieved the  
 ‘Reputation of the *English* Arms, but rais’d  
 ‘it to a degree of Glory greater than ever;  
 ‘has his Veins full of the Blood of our Coun-  
 ‘trymen, and particularly descends from that  
 ‘Name which first humbled the Pride of the  
 ‘*Spaniards*, as he has given the first Check to  
 ‘the

the boundless Ambition of *France*. There is this Paraphrase added, 'Nor do we Esteem it a less Happiness, that the same Providence furnished your Majesty with a Person from among us, to be entrusted with the Management of the Revenues, whose frugal and faithful Administration has appear'd to be such, both in that high Station and in your Councils, that your People might almost believe themselves in full Peace at Home, were it not for the Fame of the Victories Abroad.

His Lordship, notwithstanding all the Opposition of the High-Church Party, still improving in her Majesty's Favour, there was on the 6th of *July* this Year a Chapter held of the most noble Order of the Garter, at *St. James's*, her Majesty Sovereign of the Order, and 12 Knights-Companions being present, when his Lordship was elected into the said Order; and having been first introduc'd into the Chapter, and Knighted by the Sovereign with the Sword of State, he was invested with the Garter and *George*, the two Principal Ensigns of the Order, with the usual Ceremonies; and on the 30th of *December* installed at *Windſor*.

When this Order was first Instituted by *King Edward III.* there were several private Gentlemen, but generally such as had signalized themselves in War, admitted into it: And so his Successors continued to do, till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; who being very sparing of her Honours, seldom conferred them upon any but such as were of great Quality; and distinguishing Merit; and for that Reason our Histories inform us, that Sir *Henry Sidney*, the Ancestor of the present Earl of *Leicester*, was honoured by her with this Order; and, if I mistake not, he was one of the last Commoners who died such, that ever enjoy'd it: But since the *Stuartine* Line has succeeded, I find no

Body under the degree of an Earl invested with this Order, till this time, that the Lord Treasurer, who was no more than a Baron, as a singular Mark of his Royal Mistress's Favour, was dignified with it: To which we may add another Remark, that his Lordship had been above two Years Lord Treasurer, before any single Honour was conferred upon him.

Her Majesty, in *March 1705*, having thought fit to make some Alterations, pursuant, without dispute, to the Advice of her prime Minister, his Lordship was made Lord Lieutenant of his Native County of *Cornwall*, in the Room of *John Lord Granville*; who being at the same time removed from the Place of Lord Warden of the Stannaries, the Lord Treasurer had his own Son, the Honourable *Francis Godolphin*, Esq; made Warden in his stead.

The *Scotch* had, in the Course of this Reign, been pushing hard to get an Act of Security passed in that Kingdom, which they could not effect while the Duke of *Queensberry* was High Commissioner there: But that Nobleman being removed, and the Marquess of *Tweeddale* entrusted with that Post, he gave the Royal Assent to the said Act, undoubtedly by the Advice and Concurrence of the *English* Ministry; concerning which Proceedings the Lord *Haveresham*, who envied the Lord Treasurer, and with whom, he said upon another Occasion, he was upon an equal foot, bating a few Adventitious Qualities, meaning the Garter and the White Staff, in his Speech on the 23d of *November 1704*, delivered himself thus; 'The last thing that I shall mention to your Lordships, 'is with relation to *Scotland*; I think I need 'but lay before your Lordships the true Matter of Fact to convince you how much it 'deserves your Consideration. A little before 'the last setting down of the Parliament there; 'it

*In some  
Dag. r  
about the  
Act of Se-  
curity.*

*A Para-  
graph out  
of the  
Lord Ha-  
veresham's  
Speech.*

'it was thought necessary to make some Alteration in that Country, and accordingly some were displac'd to make Room for others, taking some from each Party, who might influence the rest. Things being thus prepared, and a motley Ministry set up, the Parliament met about the 6th of July last; and tho' the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line was the main thing recommended with the greatest Earnestness by the Queen in her Letter to them; yet it was so *postpon'd and baffled*, that at length it came to nothing; partly because the Ministry was so weak and divided, that instead of doing every thing, they could do nothing; and partly from a receiv'd Opinion, that the Succession it self was never sincerely and cordially intended, *either by the Ministry there, or by those that managed the Scotch Affairs here*. This is evident, for at the very opening of the Session, the Lord Secretary himself distinguishes between a secret and revealed Will.

How far the Lord *Haversham* was right or wrong, shall be no subject of Inquiry here; and therefore let us observe, that the Whigs who had all along some Jealousie of the Steadiness of the Lord Treasurer to their Cause and Interest, now concluded they were cocksure of him: They saw plainly the Tories were incens'd against him to a high Degree, and that it was very probable they would use the passing of the Act of Security, among other things, for a handle to ruin him; and if the Whigs should have concurred with them, his Downfall would have been unavoidable: What Assurance he gave them of his Stability, I know not; a great Man among them said, *We have got him in a cleft Stick, let him leave us if he dares*.



The High Church Party on their side smocking how things were like to go, thought it a very proper Season to cry up the Danger the Church was in, and out came a smart Pamphlet call'd, *The Memorial of the Church of England, humbly offered to the Consideration of all true Lovers of the Church and Constitution.* The Memorial indeed met with a more scurvy Treatment than many People expected or desir'd, being presented by the Grand Jury of *London*, for a false, scandalous and traiterous Libel, and ordered by the Court to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hang-man.

This put some Damp upon an Affair that was preparatory to bring the Church's Danger into Examination in Parliament; where the Whigs in the House of Lords, knowing their Strength and Superiority, took occasion from some Insinuations made from the opposite Side to bring the Matter upon the Stage: The Particulars of this Debate we shall not enter upon; one main Argument us'd by the Tories for the Danger of the Church, was the *Scotch Act* of Security, by which the Lord Treasurer seem'd to be directly struck at: But this Storm for the present vanished by the Vote, that the Church, which was rescu'd from extremest Danger by King *William III.* of glorious Memory, was now, by God's Blessing, under the happy Reign of her Majesty, in a most Safe and Flourishing Condition; and that whosoever went about to suggest and insinuate, that the Church was in Danger under her Majesty's Administration, was an Enemy to the Queen, Church and Kingdom.

Nevertheless the Lord Treasurer, to make sure Work, that this Act of Security should never more rise up in Judgment against him, the best Expedient that could be thought of, was effectually to prosecute an Union between the two Kingdoms; and having so manag'd Affairs  
before

before the end of the Year 1705, that her Ma-<sup>Commissi-</sup>  
 jesty was empower'd by the respective Parlia-<sup>oner of</sup>  
 ments of *England* and *Scotland*, to appoint Com-<sup>the Union.</sup>  
 missioners to treat about it; in the Commis-  
 sion for *England*, which bore date *April 10,*  
 1706, the Lord Treasurer *Godolphin* is the  
 fourth Person nominated: He shewed himself  
 very active in carrying on this great Work,  
 to forward which her Majesty was pleas'd twice  
 to go to the Assembly, and to speak to them  
 about their Progress therein, which at length  
 they brought to a happy Conclusion, much to  
 her Majesty and the Lord Treasurer's Sa-  
 tisfaction.

God Almighty, while this Treaty was in A-  
 gitation, having been pleas'd to bless the Arms  
 of her Majesty and of her Allies, with so glo-  
 rious and unexpected Victory at *Ramellies*, and  
 thereby recover'd the greatest part of the *Spa-*  
*nish Netherlands* to the House of *Austria*; and  
 her Majesty, in solemn Procession going to *St.*  
*Paul's* to return Thanks for so signal a Con-  
 quest, my Lord Treasurer was one of those,  
 who in his high Station, and according to the  
 Precedency of his Place, attended at that So-  
 lemnity.

That there were Offers of Peace made by *Rejoins*  
*France*, after this glorious Battle, appears very *the French*  
 plainly by the Elector of *Bavaria's* Letter to the *offers of*  
 Duke of *Marlborough*; the rejecting of which *Peace*  
 was afterwards, when the great Change hap-<sup>1705.</sup>  
 pen'd, made to be one of the mortal Sins of the  
 Lord Treasurer, and the other Ministers; con-  
 cerning which, an Ingenious Author writes thus:  
 'That allowing it was never so wrong to re-  
 'ject these Offers, he thought the Author of  
 'the *Conduct of the Allies* might have been con-  
 'tent to drop it, unless he could prove that  
 'Secretary *H——y* disapproved of it, which  
 'he was so far from doing, that there was not  
 'any

any one Step taken in that Affair without him; nor any one Answer made to the Offers of the *French*, which were not consider'd with him, and entirely approv'd by him. In short, both the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary (for the Duke of *M*—— was then *A-broad*) reject'd those Offers, as what no true *English* Man, or good Servant of the Queen, could advise her to accept.

Great Industry had been used by the opposite Party, in the Course of this Ministry, to represent them as a Faction; and among others who are made to be such in a Poem now come out, call'd, *Faction display'd*, the Poet introduces Faction speaking thus, concerning his Lordship;

*Faction  
display'd.*

*With what delight do I my Sons behold,  
So resolutely Brave, so fiercely Bold:  
Sure nothing can resist their boundless Course,  
Nothing subdue their well-united Force.  
Volpone, who will solely now command  
The publick Purse and Treasure of the Land,  
Wants Constancy and Courage to oppose  
A Band of such exasperated Foes.  
For how shou'd he that moves by Craft and Fear,  
Or ever greatly Think, or ever greatly Dare?  
What did he e'er in all his Life perform,  
But sunk at the Approach of ev'ry Storm?  
But when the tott'ring Church his Aid re-*

*(quir'd,*

*With Moderation Principles inspir'd,  
Forsook his Friends, and decently retir'd.  
Nor has he any real just Pretence  
To that vast Depth of Politicks and Sence,  
For where's the Depth, when publick Credit's  
To manage an o'erflowing Treasury? (high;  
Or where the Sence to know the tricks of Game,  
Since S---ms Sir James and H---ll---way may*

*(claim*

*A Knowledge as profound as his, as loud a Fame?*

*My*

My Lord *Godolphin*, having held the Treasurer's Staff four Years and upwards; it was no way unreasonable to expect he might be advanc'd to the Dignity of an Earl, which her Majesty now thought proper to do by the Title of Viscount *Rialton*, and Earl of *Godolphin*: We have accounted for this last Title before, as for *Rialton*, its a Mannor in the County of *Cornwall*, belonging to the *Godolphin* Family, said to be anciently in the Crown, to which the Name of it gives some Countenance.

But tho' the Lord Treasurer had swimmingly carried his Point, as to the Union's being agreed on by the Commissioners on both Sides: So grand an Affair could not pass both Houses of Parliament without some Opposition. It's true, the *Scotch* Parliament, by the Address of the Duke of *Queensberry*, and the World said, by the plentiful Dispersion of *something else*, were upon the Point of Consenting to it; but in the *English* House of Lords upon the Earl of *Nottingham's* Motion, that he had something of great Moment to lay before them, and the 14th of *January 1707* in the *Bu-* being appointed to hear him, he then represented, in a set Speech, that the Union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, was a Matter of the highest Importance, and a Work of so much Difficulty, that all the Attempts which had been made towards it in the last Century had proved ineffectual; that the Parliament of *Scotland* having thought fit to secure the Presbyterian Church Government in that Kingdom, it became the Wisdom of the Parliament of *England*, to provide betimes against the Dangers with which the Church by Law establish'd was threaten'd, in case the Union was accomplish'd; and therefore he moved, that an Address should be presented to the Queen, humbly to desire her Majesty, that the Proceedings both of the Commissioners for the Treaty of Union, and of the Parliament

Made  
Earl of  
Godol-  
phin 1706.

Opposed  
in the Bu-  
siness of  
the Union  
by the  
Earl of  
Notting-  
ham.

Parliament of *Scotland*, relating to that Matter, might be laid before them.

*Earl of  
Rochester.*

A Motion that seem'd so reasonable was seconded by the Earl of *Rochester*, who said he was for an Union, and had been so for twenty Years past, but that he had a few Doubts in the Matter; and therefore was for entring upon a Debate of that important Affair as soon as possible; and then by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who having premised, that the Union of both Kingdoms having been upon the Anvil since the Accession of King *James I.* to the *English* Throne; as it could not be expected that so weighty a Matter, which took up so much Time and Labour before, should now be compleated in a few Days, he was therefore for taking it forthwith into Consideration. To which the Lord High Treasurer made answer, that this Affair was not yet ripe for them to Debate; and that they needed not doubt, but that her Majesty would Communicate to the Parliament of *England*, all the Proceedings about the Union, as soon as that of *Scotland* should have gone through with it. His Lordship being back'd herein by the Lords *Wharton*, *Somers* and *Hallifax*, who urged, that it was an Honour to the *English* Nation, that the Treaty of Union should first come ratified from the Parliament of *Scotland*; and that then, and not before, was the proper time to take the same into Consideration. The other Party finding they were too weak to carry a Question, the Earl of *Nottingham's* Motion was dropt.

*Engaged  
in Debate  
about the  
Union  
1707.*

About the same time that these Debates happen'd in the House of Lords, that the Lord Treasurer might omit nothing for his own Security, in reference to the Exceedings made in the Charge of the War for the Year 1706; a Motion was made, to be sure by some of his Friends, and the Question propos'd, that the several Sums  
of

of Money for the extraordinary Services for the year 1706, which had been agreed to by the House, had been advanced and expended for the Preservation of the Duke of *Savoy*, for the Interest of King *Charles III.* in *Spain* against the common Enemy, and for the Safety and Honour of the Nation: And the Previous Question being put, that that Question be now put it was resolved in the Affirmative; then the Main Question being put, it was resolved by a Majority of 250 against 150 that the several Sums of Money for the extraordinary Services for the year 1706, which had been agreed to by that House, had been advanced and expended for the Preservation of the Duke of *Savoy*, for the Interest of King *Charles III.* in *Spain* against the common Enemy, and for the Safety and Honour of the Nation.

*Vote in  
his favour  
about the  
extra-  
ordinary  
Expences  
for 1706.*

It might have been observed before that an Act past in *March 1705*, entituled an Act for the better enabling her Majesty to grant the Honour and Mannor of *Woodstock* with the Hundred of *Wooten* to the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Heirs, in Consideration of the Eminent Services by him performed to her Majesty and the publick, was done not only by way of Acknowledgement and Gratitude to the Duke, but also for the Benefit of the Lord *Treasurer's* Family: Seeing both the Honour of *Marlborough* and the Estate of *Woodstock* are to descend to the Dukes eldest Daughter the Lady *Rialton* and her Posterity; the same may be said now in reference to another Estate given that Family by an Act for securing to *John Duke of Marlborough* and his Posterity, a Pension of five thousand Pounds *per Annum* for the more Honourable Support of their Dignities, in like manner as his Honours and Dignities and the Honour and manner of *Woodstock* and the House of *Blenheim*, are already limitted and settled.

*Acts in  
Favour of  
his Family*

The

The *Scotch* Parliament having by this time gone thro' with the Union, the Queen concluded her Speech to the Parliament of *England* upon it, with these Words, ' The Advantages which accrue to us all from an Union are so apparent, that I will add no more, but that I shall look upon it as a particular Happiness if this great Work, which has been so often attempted without Success, can be brought to perfection in my Reign—— But this did not please many that were not at that time in the Interest of the Court; and Sir *J——n P——n* in Particular in the House of Commons spoke concerning it to this Effect: That the business of the Union, which was now before them being of the Highest Importance required therefore the most deliberate Consideration; that with Relation thereto People without Doors had been for a long time, Tongue-tyed by a special order of Council, which not reaching them within those Walls, he would very freely impart his thoughts about it; that for his Part he was absolutely against the Incorporating Union, which he said was like the Marrying a Woman against her Consent: *An Union that was carryed on by Corruption and Bribery within Doors, and by Force and Violence without, &c.*

Lord  
Treasurer  
reflected  
upon by a  
Member  
of the  
Commons.

Many of the Members taking Offence at these bold Expressions, which cast a high Reflection both on her Majesty and her Ministry; but more particularly on him who kept the Purse, and the *Scotch* Commissioners and Parliament: Sir *J——n* to palliate the matter; said he was informed, that in *Scotland* they said the Union was carryed by Bribery and Force; adding that the Promoters thereof in thus basely giving up their *Independent Constitution*, had actually betray'd the trust reposed in them, and therefore he would leave it to the Judgment of the House

House to Consider, whether or no, Men of such Principles were fit to be admitted to sit among them.

When the Treaty of Union came to the House of Lords, tho it met with great Opposition from many noble Peers, yet the Debate was carryed on more Smoothly and without any direct reflection upon the Lord *Treasurer*; who having gained this grand Point, he took due Care for a supply to be granted by the Commons to answer the Equivalent granted to *Scotland* by this Treaty, as also of all other supplies towards carrying on the War both by Sea and Land with Vigour and Success.

The Treasury of *Scotland* of late Years had been managed by Commissioners, whose Powers being entirely determined upon the incorporating of the two Kingdoms, her Majesty was now pleased to Constitute the Earl of *Godolphin*, Lord High-Treasurer of Great-Britain.

We shall but just mention the detecting of *Gregg's* Correspondence with *France*, by which the Design form'd against *Thoulon* miscarryed, and having *en passant* observed that what the Lord Treasurer added to the Queen's Letter to the Emperor upon the subject matter of that Enterprize, was much the brightest part of it; we come now to the Formation of a grand design to dispossess his Lordship of the Treasurer's Staff and to bring about other considerable Alterations in the Ministry.

Mr. *Harley* had been one of the principal Secretaries of State for some time, and Mr. *Henry St. John* Secretary at War, both of them introduced into those Posts by the concurrence, if not the sole Interest of the Lord Treasurer and the Duke of *Marlborough*: What Engines they wrought with and after what manner, is yet in Part a Secret. Its certain the first



state, the Revolution was to begin w  
first, and I my self was told by a l  
of Parliament on the *Sunday* that his I  
would infallibly be out the *Friday* followi  
that of discarding the Treasurer was too  
low; tho neither was then as much as fi  
by the Generality of the People: But  
sign it seems could not be carryed on so e  
but that it took some Vent; and ind  
military Affairs were then in such a Stai  
the Duke of *Marlbrough's* Acquiescence  
Concurrence, was thought absolutely Ne  
before the Treasurer could be outed  
such an Alliance, Friendship, Harmon  
mutual Dependance, there were betwe  
Duke and the Lord Treasurer, and his  
was so far from giving his Consent,  
absolutely refus'd to serve any lon  
Captain General, seeing, he said, he co  
pend upon no other than my Lord Go  
for those Supplies which were Necessi  
carrying on the War with Vigour and !  
The Duke's Positiveness in this Affair  
much weight above, and such a Opinion  
was had of his great Merit, whatever

*Confirm'd  
in it.*

' dangerous and fatal to the Safety of the Queen's  
 ' Person, and the Security of the present happy  
 ' Establishment, as those Persons who endeavour'd  
 ' to create Divisions and Animosities among  
 ' her faithful Subjects; or by any artful  
 ' Methods lessen'd the just Esteem her Majesty  
 ' had for those who so eminently, and in so distinguishing  
 ' a manner Commanded her Armies,  
 ' and manag'd her Treasure to the Honour and  
 ' Glory of her Majesty Abroad, and entire Satisfaction  
 ' of her People at Home; and therefore they begged leave  
 ' to beseech her Majesty to discountenance all such Persons  
 ' and Designs, in the most remarkable Manner.

To this Address her Majesty made Answer, *Queen's Answer.*  
 ' That she thought all those who endeavour'd to  
 ' make Divisions among her faithful Subjects,  
 ' must be hers, and the Kingdom's Enemies; and  
 ' that she should never Countenance any Persons  
 ' who would go about to lessen the just Esteem  
 ' which she had for those, who had done,  
 ' and continued to do her the most eminent  
 ' Services.

The Blow being warded off with difficulty, in the manner abovementioned, the natural Consequence was, that *Robert Harley*, Esq; should lose his Post of Secretary of State, into which *Henry Boyle*, Esq; then Chancellor of the Exchequer, was advanc'd: His Friends also ran the same Fate, for *Sir Thomas Mansel*, Bar. Comptroller of the Household, and *Sir Simon Harecourt*, Attorney-General, lost their respective Offices, so did Mr. *Henry St. John*. But the principal Engine wherewith they wrought, continued still in the same Station. 'Posterity' will be apt to judge that the Lord Treasurer and his Friends were short in their Politicks, that they did not take care of her Removal: But there are Mysteries in State which we, who stand at such a Distance, cannot pretend to penetrate into; and

and perhaps what seems to us to be an Omifion or Defect, proceeded more from Necessity than Choice.

As it was somewhat unseasonable to Mr. *Harley* and his Friends, that at the same time that they were projecting the Change of the Ministry, the Pretender should be forming his Invasion of *Scotland*, the World being very apt to put bad Constructions upon things that are in themselves purely accidental: So the Con-juncture seemed to be as favourable on the o-ther hand to the Lord Treasurer and his Ad-herents, who had by it an Opportunity put into their Hands to secure all Persons they en-tertained a suspicion of, and so at least cast some odium upon them, as being Enemies to their Queen and Country: But when this Business of the Invasion came in the beginning of the Year 1709, under Examination in the House of Lords, endeavours were used to give Things a Turn to the Disadvantage of the Lord Treas-urer in particular, as appears by this Paragraph in the Lord *Haverham's* Speech upon that Occasion.

*The Pre-  
tender's  
Invasion  
endea-  
vour'd to  
be turn'd  
to his dis-  
advan-  
tage 1709.*

‘ Nor has the Characters that have been made  
‘ of Persons to be suspected, had any better ef-  
‘ fect; there are two that I shall mention to  
‘ your Lordships, and I think greater Mistakes  
‘ than both of them can scarce be put into Words;  
‘ the first is, *That Men of Arbitrary Principles*  
‘ *are the Persons who ought to be suspected.* This  
‘ Argument has been very much labour’d, and  
‘ great Pains has been taken to perswade the  
‘ World from Men’s Practises in other Reigns,  
‘ that they are still of Arbitrary Principles, and  
‘ from thence ’tis inferr’d they ought to be  
‘ suspected: I shall not trouble your Lordships,  
‘ or my self, at present, to shew the weakness  
‘ of this Argument, I will take it as they that  
‘ have made use of it will have it, for a strong  
‘ and

and undeniable Consequence; and them I ask; *What, my Lords, is the Nation to suspect any that are the Head of the Ministry, of giving this Incouragement to your Enemies? For I will be bold in this Place, if this be a good Argument, it is as strong against some who are at the Head of the Ministry, as against any Man I know of, who is out of it.*

The next Paragraph, without quoting any more of the Speech, is levell'd against his Lordship, in Conjunction with some of his Friends, and runs thus:

There is another Character of suspicious Persons, which I cannot but take notice of, because I take it to be very fatal to the freedom of Parliament; for it is impossible for any Man to take notice, either in Parliament, or to the Queen her self, of any wrong Measures, or false Step in the Management of Publick Affairs, *without so far reflecting on the Ministry; and if this is to be interpreted as an artful Method of lessening her Majesty's just Esteem of her Ministers; and those who do so, are to be mark'd as dangerous to the Safety of her Majesty's Person, and the present Establishment, I am afraid her Majesty for the future, may have several things concealed from her, which might be for her Service to know; and one of the great Ends and Uses of Parliament, the Redressing of Grievances, and keeping of Great Men in Awe, will be quickly laid aside: But, my Lords, we have a very visible Instance, that this is a great Mistake; for do we not see those Lords, who the last Year \* espoused the Case and Complaint of the Merchants in Parliament, now advanced to the greatest Places of Trust and Power? Lord of So that these two Methods have rather shew'd us, who ought not, than who are to be suspected.*

Dr. Sache-  
verel's Try-  
al.

My Lord Treasurer seemed now to be better establish'd than ever in the prime Ministry, tho' 'tis past all doubt the opposite Party were indefatigably industrious to advance themselves by Ways and Methods which 'tis not likely will ever be fully discover'd; and 'tis the Opinion of the most intelligent Persons, that if the Sermon of Dr. *Sacheverel*, in which his Lordship was home struck at, had never been preach'd, or his Tryal never brought on, the old Ministry could not have stood much longer than they did: It was then a common Report that the Lord Treasurer himself put Mr. *Dolben* upon moving to have the Doctor impeach'd: Be that as it will, its beyond all dispute, that the Doctor's Tryal, and the Manner of it in a Parliamentary Way, was so far from retarding, that it rather accelerated the mighty Change, which was begun now, as indeed it had been design'd above 2 Years ago, with the Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State; who having all along acted vigorously in his Post, and in very good Harmony with the Lord Treasurer and the Duke of *Marlborough* his Father-in-Law, was *June* 14th 1710, removed from his Office, and the Lord *Dartmouth* brought into his Place. The Whigs being terribly afraid of any farther Removes, the Bank represented to the Queen the Danger that was in such a Case the sinking of Credit: They had hopes given them for the present there should be no Alterations made to the Prejudice of the Bank, and the Common Cause; our Allies beginning also to take the Alarm, the *Dutch* particularly by their Minister here seconded the Bank in a Representation of the ensuing Dangers.

Lord Sun-  
derland  
displac'd  
14 June  
1710.

The Tories  
Constru-  
tion of  
the Dutch  
Message  
against  
Changes  
in the  
Ministry  
1710.

The worst Construction the Tories at first put upon this Message of the *Dutch*, was that her Majesty look'd upon it as either the Effect of a mistaken Zeal for the Common Cause, or the

the crafty Suggestions of the Friends of the Lord Treasurer: They confessed upon another Occasion, that this Message from the States was deliver'd with as much Modesty as the subject Matter would bear; and that tho' it could not be void of some Offence, her Majesty would take every thing as well intended, that came from a State for whom she had ever had so sincere a Regard, and who had so signally exerted themselves for the good of the Common Cause. But as the Inveteracy grew between the Parties, the Language of those who had the Ascendency in Power, proceeded so far as to say in publick Print, 'That no Nation was ever so scandalously abused by the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption, and the Ambition of its Ministers, or treated with so much Insolence, Injustice and Ingratitude by its Allies.'

All the Address of the Whigs at Home, and the Interpositions of the Courts of *Vienna* and the *Hague* being not able to stem the Torrent; the 8th of *August* was the Day that struck a terrible Blow to the Credit of *England*, her Majesty then having thought fit to send for the White Staff from my Lord *Godolphin*, as Lord High Treasurer of *Great Britain*; which Office he had executed above eight Years for the South Part of *Britain*, and for the whole Island, since the Union of the two Kingdoms in 1707.

It was well for my Lord *Godolphin* that a *He Proposed* Proposal he made, and which he seem'd to be *very fond of the Year* before, did not take effect *some Palatines*, in respect to the *Palatines*; that a thousand of the Men, with their Wives and Children should be sent to *Scilly* Island; wherein his Family had a Property, and the Men there maintain'd for Soldiers, at the Charge of the Government. It was with some difficulty that others of the Commissioners diverted him from it.

this Project, which would have been neither beneficial to himself nor the Government, and where a sufficient Subsistence could not be had for so many Mouths: Its not unknown what strict Inquiry was afterwards made in Parliament about the Invitation given the *Palatines* to come into *England*, and 'tis past all doubt, that this would have been made use of as a Handle, at least to blacken and malign the Lord Treasurer; as if he had only his own private Interest in view in that Affair, to the Detriment of the Publick.

*Pamphlets  
against  
him.*

*French  
History  
cited in  
his favour.*

The Lord *Godolphin* had been but a little while discharg'd from his Office of Lord Treasurer, but out came *Arlus* and *Odolphus*, a Fiction that had the Beauties of a tolerable Romance, and to shew the Skill of the Author, was happily called a *Secret History*, which is a Cover, says one, for all the Lies the Father of them can invent: The Town swarm'd every Day with other Pamphlets reflecting with abominable Falsities upon this great Man, in Vindication of whom stood up some ingenious Pens, who defended him with great Clearness of Reason and sound Argument; among other things the following Extract out of the *French History*, tho' not quadrating in every Particular is cited by one in his favour. When *Mary de Medicis* was Queen Regent of *France*, just a hundred Years ago, the Marquess *d'Ancre*, who had married an *Italian* Woman called *Galigni*, was made first Gentleman of the Chamber; not long after his Preferment he fell out with *Bellegarde*, the Grand Ecuier, or Master of the Horse, and the History says, the Quarrel between these two Men occasioned a great deal of Disturbance: The Marquess *d'Ancre* did not at the bottom love *Bellegarde*, believing that he who had been longer at Court might hinder his own growing Favour; besides,  
*Bellegarde*

*Bellegarde* was not easie to live with, or to be reconciled, being one that pretended to support himself independent of the other Ministers or Favourites : The other also was a proud Man and blown up by his new Favour ; however, they agreed in one thing, which was to act in concert with some others about the Queen to remove the Duke of *Sully*, Intendant of the Finances. This they brought about in a very short time, and as the Historian says, the Duke of *Sully* was the Victim of their Agreement, upon whose Removal the Duke of *Roan*, in his excellent Memoirs observes, that his Services had procured him the ill Will of so many People ; for, says he, eminent Vertue, such as his was, accompanied with Favour, is subject to Envy, which is an Evil as frequent among Men, as 'tis unworthy of those who make Profession of Honour. Many therefore were inclin'd to lay him aside, for divers Reasons ; some to fix their own Authority in the Government of the State, and to remove from among them a Man so exact in his Office, who gave them Reason to be ashamed of themselves, some for a particular ill Will which they bore unto him, the Marquess *d'Ancre* for fear he would prove a hindrance to his ambitious Designs ; the rest, because they thought him too good a Manager of the publick Treasure : At last, says the same Author, Experience shew'd that this prov'd the Ruin of the State ; the Treasures were drained, the Stores squander'd, and the Comparison of the miserable Condition of *France* soon after, to the flourishing State in which the Duke of *Sully* left it, too plainly demonstrated how prejudicial his Removal from Affairs was to the Kingdom.

Sometime after the Earl was discharged of his Office, came out the following Poem suppos'd to be writ upon him by Dr. *G---th*.

A 2 3

To



## To the Earl of Godolphin.

Poem on  
the Earl  
of Godol-  
phin.

Whilst weeping Europe bends beneath her Ills,  
And where the Sword destroys not, Famine Kills:  
Our Isle enjoys by your successful Care,  
The Pomp of Peace amidst the Woes of War.  
So much the Publick by your Prudence Owes  
You think no Labours long for our Repose;  
Such Conduct, such Integrity are shown,  
There are no Coffers empty but your own.  
From mean Dependence Merit you retrieve,  
Unask'd you Offer, and Unseen you give,  
Your Favours, like the Nile encrease bestows,  
And yet conceals the Source from whence it  
(flows).

So pois'd your Passions are we find no frown,  
If Funds oppress not, and if Commerce run.  
Taxes Diminish'd, Liberty Entire,  
Those are the Grants your Services require.  
Thus for the State-Machine wants no Repair,  
But moves in matchless Order by your care.  
Free from Confusion settled and serene,  
And like the Universe by Springs unseen.  
But now some Star Sinister to our Prayers,  
Contrives NEW Schemes and calls you from  
(Affairs).

No Anguish in your Looks, nor Care appear,  
But how to teach the unpractis'd Crew to steer.  
Thus like some Victim, no Constraint you need,  
To expiate their Offence by whom you Bleed:

Ingratitude's a Weed in every Clime,  
It thrives too fast at First, but fades in Time.  
The God of Day, and your own Lot's the Same,  
The Vapours you have rais'd obscure your  
(Fame).

But tho' you suffer and awhile retreat,  
Your Globe of Light looks larger as you set.

I shall

I Shall not meddle with the Examiner's Criticisms on this Poem, which I think he might well have spar'd, but go on with my Memoirs.

Nothing would serve abundance of Hot-brained People, now my Lord *Godolphin* was out, but his Head must pay for Male-Administration, especially in the business of his Office; and it might be wished for the Honour of one part of the Legislature, that that Vote about thirty five Millions, a great part of which had not been accounted for, might have been put in more plain and intelligible Terms, it would have prevented multitudes of People's running away with a manifest Error, as appears by the following Letter in the *Medley* of *June 11th 1711*, which contains the very truth of the Fact.

S I R,

The Examiner in his Paper of the 26th of *Letter in April* has these Words: 'And here we cannot <sup>the Med-</sup> refuse the late Ministry their due Praises, <sup>ley about</sup> who foreseeing a Storm, provided for their <sup>the Act of</sup> own safety by two admirable Expedients, <sup>Indemnity</sup> by which with great Prudence they have escaped the Punishments due to pernicious Council and corrupt Management. The first was to procure under Pretences hardly specious, a general Act of Indemnity, which cuts off all Impeachments.

This gave me Occasion to look into the Act, where I find the following Exceptions.

' And also excepted out of this pardon all  
' and every the Sums of Money and Duties following, and the concealment and wrongful  
' Detainment thereof, that is to say, &c. or  
' any other Tax, Assessment, Duty, Imposition,  
' Debt, or Sum of Money whatsoever to the  
' Queen's Majesty, given or Levyable by any

Act of Parliament or otherwise due or belonging to the Queen's Majesty, &c. ' And all Corruptions and Misdemeanors of any Officer or Minister of or concerning the same; and all Accounts and Suits whatsoever to be had, made or presented for the same; and also excepted all and singular Accounts of all and every Collector and Collectors, Commissioners, *Treasurers*, Receivers or other Officers, or other *Accountants* whatsoever; who have Received or Collected, or are any other way accountable to her Majesty for any Subsidy, &c.

' If you thing proper some way to take Notice of this matter, you will undeceive a very great number of Persons, who by misunderstanding a late Vote of the House of Commons, apprehend that a great part of thirty five Millions has been Converted by the late Ministry to their Private Use, and that the only Reason why they are not Impeached for it, is because, as the Examiner says, all Impeachments are cut off by the general Act of Indemnity promoted by them for that Purpose I am, &c.

*Vindicated from Calumnies* It would be an endless thing to go about to answer the Calumnies cast upon this Noble Lord in these iniquitous times, he managed the Treasury with so much Ease to himself he being a perfect Master of the whole Affair, and so much Frugality to the publick, that it made every honest and impartial *Englishman* Stare, when they found in a Weekly Paper called the Examiner N. 47 these Words. ' That the former Ministry procured Money to be Lent at 5*l.* per Cent. whilst the unhappy Creditors were forced to give from 20 to 40 per Cent. for every Farthing they received upon the Bills assigned them by the Government: This is so false in Fact that it would be impertinent to

to go about to disprove it; Assignments upon every find that answered, and that Money was Lent upon *Par* at 5*l* per Cent. having been better than *Par* during his Lordship's Administration.

There was now a *English* Version made of the Letters and Negotiations of the Count de Estrades, dedicated to the Earl of Godolphin to whom the Translators Address themselves thus. *dedicated*

' This Translation being entirely owing to him, to your Lordship's Opinion of the Original, seems to have the best Excuse for pretending to the Honour of your Patronage; and indeed there are so many Reasons why no Man is so proper to protect it, as your Lordship, that the Translators Flatter themselves that they shall at least have your pardon.

' The Work they have made *English* will shew the Depth of Policy, and Arts of Negotiation, in two of the greatest Ministers *Europe* ever heard of, till a late wise and happy Administration.

' But to Manage for a mighty Monarch possessed of the Treasures of his whole People, and Master of the Council of almost all *Christendom*, needed not so exalted a Genius, as to be Minister in a State impoverished by a Ten Years War, discouraged by some Misfortunes, divided by Factions, and happy only in a Ministry so wisely chosen and so eminently qualify'd for their High Nation.

' What were the wonderful Effects of that Choice is in the Memory of every honest *Brittain*: The Fidelity, the Justice, the Boldness, the Success of that Ministry soon raised the Reputation of the *Brittish* Empire to a Height that never was known before, and rendred it the Terror of our Foes, and not perhaps a little the envy of our Friends.

' Such Services, my Lord, must necessary make you Enemies in a Nation that has so many; not one of which could be a Friend to your Lordship, and not one, without a secret Joy,

sec

‘ see your Lordships Wisdom and Consummate  
 ‘ experiences no longer of use to our Queen and  
 ‘ Country.

‘ That is the only Triumph your Lordship has  
 ‘ left them to boast of, while your Illustrious  
 ‘ friend and you will make a Figure in History  
 ‘ equal at least to the greatest of Antiquity, with  
 ‘ this advantage to both your Fames, that what  
 ‘ others did most gloriously either by their  
 ‘ Council or their Arms was to enslave, and what  
 ‘ both your Lordships, to free Mankind.

‘ Your Lordship has so frequently had the  
 ‘ publick Thanks, and the grateful Testimony of  
 ‘ the People, for the Blessings you procured them,  
 ‘ that ours will be but a poor Sacrifice for so  
 ‘ sublime Worth, and we should not have pre-  
 ‘ sumed to offer it, had we not taken a Pride  
 ‘ in preserving our Gratitude, when ’tis the  
 ‘ Merit of so many to be ungrateful.

‘ To have made Credit flourish more in time  
 ‘ of War, than it did in Peace, to have united  
 ‘ two Nations that for many Hundreds Years  
 ‘ had Alhorrence of Union, to have gained the  
 ‘ Universal confidence of so many Jealous and  
 ‘ Interested Allies, will make Futurity as much  
 ‘ admire at the Fortune, as the Extent of that  
 ‘ Malice, which could attack so well Guarded  
 ‘ a Character: But as your Lordship is above  
 ‘ the Hatred of your Enemies; so they are  
 ‘ below your Concern; and tho you have  
 ‘ contented your self to return only a generous  
 ‘ Scorn, yet Posterity will not be satisfied with  
 ‘ so short a Revenge, and we cannot but pity  
 ‘ the Fate, which must attend their Memories,  
 ‘ while your Lordship’s will ever be dear to all  
 ‘ those that shall take a Pleasure in the Glory  
 ‘ of *Great-Britain*: We are with the greatest  
 ‘ Respect.

But notwithstanding all the Fidelity, Exact-  
 ness and Precaution used by my Lord *Godolphin*

in the Management of his great Offices; such was the Heat, Fury and Perverseness of the tumultuous Times that ensued, that nothing would serve the Populace, and even many of the more Intelligent sort of People, but he must either at least refund, or pay for his Male-Administration with his Head; the word *Peculatus*, english'd *Plundering the Nation*, in the Preamble to his Successor's Patent in the Treasury, and the thirty five Millions Deficiency, were broad Hints that his Lordship, one should think, could not long survive: But all of it was like Thunder a-far off, that no ways affected his Lordship; who liv'd above two Years after he was discharg'd from his Office un-impeach'd, tho' not un-insulted in a vile News-Paper, in the very Article of Death.

But before we come to that gloomy Scene, we must take notice of some Paragraphs in the second Report of the Commissioners of Publick Accounts, laid before the Commons, *March 17, 1711-12*, which are design'd to strike at his Lordship, and how he behaved himself in that Conjecture: The Commissioners say, 'By an *Commisf.*  
' Act of Parliament pass'd in *Scotland*, *October* *sioners of*  
' the 19th, 1696, it is amongst other things enact- *Accounts*  
' ed, *That no Commission, Civil or Military, shall Report in*  
' *become void by the Death of the King, but that Reference*  
' *the same shall continue in force the space of six to him.*  
' *Months, unless recall'd by the next Successor.*  
' That on the Death of King *William*, a Procla-  
' mation was issued, by which all Officers Ci-  
' vil and Military, were authorized and requi-  
' red to act in all things conformable to the last  
' Commissions and Instructions they had from  
' his late Majesty, till new Commissions from  
' the Queen could be prepared, and sent down  
' to them. That some time after this, new Com-  
' missions were sent down, appointing all the  
' Officers Civil and Military in *Scotland*, ex-  
cept

‘cept only those for the Treasury, for which  
 ‘no Commission was granted by her Majesty  
 ‘till the 23d of *June*, 1707. But they must ob-  
 ‘serve, that by the Usage of *Scotland*, when any  
 ‘Alteration was made in the Treasury, ’twas not  
 ‘done by renewing the Commission as here in  
 ‘*England*, but by a Letter from the Crown. And  
 ‘Her Majesty was pleased to make so many Al-  
 ‘terations, that the major part of the Commis-  
 ‘sioners were changed within the time of her  
 ‘Accession to the Throne, and that of the Union  
 ‘by Letters in the Form following.

‘*WHEREAS* we have resolved to appoint A.  
 ‘B. to be one the Commissioners of our Treasury,  
 ‘These are therefore to authorize and require you to  
 ‘admit and receive him as one of your Number;  
 ‘hereby giving and granting to him the same Power  
 ‘and Authority, with all Privileges and Immuni-  
 ‘ties whatsoever, that are or have been competent to  
 ‘any other Commissioner of the Treasury, and decla-  
 ‘ring these Presents to be for his Admission, of as  
 ‘full Force, Strength and Effect, as if he had been  
 ‘nominated and appointed in and by our Commission  
 ‘granted to you under our Great Seal, where asent  
 ‘we have thought fit to dispence.

‘From whence ’tis, say they, observable, that  
 ‘the whole Publick Revenue of *Scotland* was for  
 ‘sometime left without any legal Direction or  
 ‘Government. For the Commission of King  
 ‘*William* could be continued by vertue of the  
 ‘Act of Parliament, no longer in force than six  
 ‘Months, nor by the Proclamation, any longer  
 ‘than ’till her Majesty’s signing the first Letter,  
 ‘after the Expiration of the six Mouths: For  
 ‘the Words, *As if he had been nominated and*  
 ‘*appointed in and by our Commission granted to*  
 ‘*you under our Great Seal*, seems to determine  
 ‘the Effect of that Proclamation, and suppose a  
 ‘Commission

‘ Commission granted by her Majesty. But  
‘ allowing the first Letter was not a total Re-  
‘ peal of King *William's* Commission, and only  
‘ a Repeal in part ; yet it must be admitted,  
‘ that as soon as her Majesty had added a Ma-  
‘ jority of new Commissioners, or so many as  
‘ being joined with the lesser Number of the  
‘ old, would make a Majority, then the old  
‘ Commission was superseded, and the Trea-  
‘ sury under a new (if any) Administration.

‘ Now your Commissioners are humbly of  
‘ Opinion, that these Letters referring to a Pa-  
‘ tent which was never in being, wanted a  
‘ Foundation, and cou'd. by no Construction of  
‘ Law ever have any Operation or Effect, and  
‘ that those who under Colour of them were  
‘ admitted into the Treasury, have acted with-  
‘ out Authority.

‘ But we presume not to argue how far their  
‘ Proceedings may be thought illegal, or whe-  
‘ ther her Majesty may be said to have been  
‘ deceived by this Neglect or Mismanagement,  
‘ or how extensive the Mischiefs have already  
‘ been, or may hereafter be to *Scotland*, or how  
‘ far it will involve the People there, who have  
‘ been concerned in Contracts, Leases, Purchases,  
‘ or otherwise with the Treasury.

‘ But certain it is, that the Publick have been  
‘ rendred liable to many Inconveniences, and her  
‘ Majesty must have been deceived when she or-  
‘ der'd Loans from the Treasury of *England* to the  
‘ Treasury of *Scotland*, particularly that of  
‘ Twenty Thousand Pounds in the Year 1706.  
‘ For the Treasury of *Scotland*, not being then  
‘ (as we observe) rightly constituted, could nei-  
‘ ther give Security for Money lent, nor legally  
‘ make Repayment of it.

‘ Your Commissioners therefore with great  
‘ Submission, propose it to the House, whether  
‘ this Defect will not want the Assistance of the  
‘ Legislature,



‘Legislature, or whether the present Proceedings of the Court of Exchequer in *Scotland*, relating to any Mismanagements of the Revenue there during this Suspension of the Commission and Legal Power of the Treasury, are not void, and consequently whether the Judgments grounded upon them will not be found ineffectual.

‘But having humbly mentioned this Circumstance of the Treasury of *Scotland*, we will proceed to the Revenue, and begin with an Account of the Loan of 20,000*l.* in the Year 1706. as it appears to us in the manner, and by the Evidence following.

‘We having ground to believe that considerable Sums of publick Money had been sent from *England* to *Scotland*, when the Act of Union was under Consideration in the Parliament there, enquired into the Reasons of it, and understanding that Sir *David Nairne* had been concern’d in the Receipt and Remittance of 20,000*l.* we examin’d him on Oath, and he declared to the Effect following:

‘That in the Year 1706, he received the Sum of 20,000*l.* at two several Payments, 10,000*l.* on the 17th of *October*, and 10,000*l.* more on the 26th of *November* following, for which he gave two Receipts to *Sidney Earl of Godolphin*, then Lord Treasurer of *England*.

‘That this Money was lent, as he declared, by her Majesty to the Treasury of *Scotland*, upon a Representation from the Duke of *Queensberry*, Earl of *Seafeld*, Earl of *Marry*, Earl of *Loudoun*, and Earl of *Glasgow*; that there were Deficiencies in the Civil List, and upon their Promise that it should be repaid, which he thinks, was accordingly done out of the Equivalent Money: That he was empowered by a Letter from the Lords in *Scotland*, to receive that Money here, and to give a Receipt for it, which

‘ which he accordingly did, and by their Direction remitted it to the Earl of *Glasgow* at *Edinburgh*, but knows nothing certain of the distributing of it, has heard only that it was paid to the Lord *Tweedale*, and other of the Queen’s Servants.

‘ All which is confirm’d by the Earl of *Glasgow*, who in return to a Precept of your Commissioners, after giving a particular Account of the distributing of 20,000*l.* in *Scotland*, declares on Oath (to use his own Words) that it consisted with his own proper Knowledge that 12,325*l.* were paid back after the Union to the Earl of *Godolphin*, then Lord Treasurer.

‘ But your Commissioners finding no mention of the Receipt of this Sum of 12,325*l.* or of the other remaining part of the 20,000*l.* in the Certificates, or Books of the Exchequer, were unwilling to make any Representation of the Fact, till they had given the Earl of *Godolphin* an Opportunity of declaring what he knew of this Loan to *Scotland*, and on some Questions proposed to his Lordship relating thereunto, he made the underwritten Deposition.

‘ The Right Honourable the Earl of *Godolphin* being sworn deposeth, That he had the before the Queen’s Commands in the Year 1706, or thereabouts, when the Kingdoms of England and Scotland were separate, to lend to the Treasury of Scotland, the Sum (as he thinks) of 20,000*l.* that he cannot recollect whether any part of it was repaid, but that he understood it was to be employed for her Majesty’s secret Service in Scotland.

*Jurat 25. Feb.*

1711-12.

GODOLPHIN.

‘ The Day after this Deposition was made, his Lordship sent the following Letter to the Commissioners.

Gentlemen,

His Letter  
about the  
same.

Gentlemen, 25 Feb. 1711-12.  
IN pursuance of what I said to you Yesterday at  
your Board, I have endeavour'd to recollect my  
self as well as I am able upon the Subject you men-  
tioned to me, and do believe that 12,000 l. or there-  
abouts, was repaid to the Queen by her Servants of  
Scotland, and to the best of my Remembrance, they  
prevailed with her Majesty not to require the Re-  
mainder of the 20,000 l. from them. I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most Humble Servant,  
GODOLPHIN.

P. S. When I said Yesterday, that I understood  
this Money was to be made Use of for the Queen's  
secret Service in Scotland, I only meant that I  
thought so, but was not certain of it.

‘ Your Commissioners, after the Receipt of this  
‘ Letter, gave the Earl of Godolphin the Trouble  
‘ of coming to them a second time, and then his  
‘ Lordship was pleased to make another Deposi-  
‘ tion in these Terms.

His second Oath be- fore them. The Right Honourable the Earl of Godolphin  
being sworn, depose, That the 12,000 l. or there-  
abouts mentioned in his Lordships Letter of the 25th  
of February 1711-12, to the Commissioners of Pub-  
lick Accounts, and said to be repaid, was not, as he  
remembers, repaid to his Lordship, nor doth his Lord-  
ship know of any Account of it, nor of any Warrant  
for the Disposal of this particular Sum, since the Re-  
payment of it, to any Persons whatsoever.

Jurat. 3. Mar.

1711-12.

GODOLPHIN.

The Com-  
missioners  
Observa-  
tions on  
the whole.

‘ On a View of the whole Case thus stated,  
‘ your Commissioners humbly offer the following  
‘ Observations. That it is plain by two Letters  
‘ from the Lords of the Treasury in Scotland, that  
‘ this

' this Sum of 12,000 *l.* was not advanc'd to them  
 ' by way of Secret Service, or as a Gift, but as  
 ' a Loan on Promise of Repayment, and Re-  
 ' cepts were accordingly given for it by their A-  
 ' gent here, but your Commissioners are at a Loss  
 ' to explain some Expressions in these Letters,  
 ' viz. That Opposers to the Union would make  
 ' some Noise if her Majesty's Letter was read in  
 ' the Treasury, that they had been oblig'd to give  
 ' Promises to several Persons, and without the  
 ' Sum desired they would be disappointed, which  
 ' might prove of bad Consequence, that they  
 ' would not have it known that her Majesty lends  
 ' any Money, &c.

' Nor will we presume to guess at the Reasons  
 ' of these Insinuations, but humbly conceive, that  
 ' if the Money had been fairly applied to the  
 ' pretended Purposes, there could have been  
 ' no just Occasion for so much Caution and  
 ' Jealousie.

' But whatever Inducements the Lords of the  
 ' Treasury in *Scotland* might have for transacting  
 ' this Affair in so secret a manner, we are of O-  
 ' pinion that the Persons employ'd by her Maje-  
 ' sty, ought not to have parted with the Money  
 ' till her Majesty's Letter had been read in the  
 ' Treasury of *Scotland*, and till a proper Security  
 ' had pass'd there for it. Whereas it was paid  
 ' on the Receipt of a private Agent, and at the  
 ' Request of private Persons, for so we must call  
 ' the noble Lords who signed these two Letters  
 ' to the Earl of *Godolphin*, because they could  
 ' not sign them as Lords of the Treasury; for  
 ' the Earl of *Mar* was never in this Commission,  
 ' and the Earl of *Loudoun* had for some time  
 ' been removed from it.

' However, since the Loan was made (as ap-  
 ' pears by the Depositions on all Hands) it is to  
 ' be considered whether the Money was ever  
 ' repaid, and this cannot be so well understood;

‘by comparing the Evidence of the two noble  
‘Lords.

First then the Earl of *Glasgow* deposes in positive and exprefs Term, ‘That 12,325 *l.* was  
‘paid back to the Earl of *Godolphin*, and in a  
‘Letter to your Commissioners, he affirms that  
‘he had already accompted with the Earl of *Godolphin* for the Money remitted from the first  
‘of *May* 1706, to the first of *May* 1707, from  
‘*England* to *Scotland*, which Evidence must be  
‘allowed would at least have been sufficient to  
‘charge the Earl of *Godolphin* with the Article  
‘of 12,325 *l.* had it not (in some Measure)  
‘been contradicted by the Earl of *Godolphin*’s  
‘first Deposition, wherein his Lordship is so far  
‘from charging himself with the Receipt of that  
‘particular Sum, or with passing any Account  
‘with the Earl of *Glasgow* for the whole, that  
‘he could not recollect that any part of it was  
‘repaid, but says that he understood it was to  
‘be employ’d for her Majesty’s secret Service in  
‘*Scotland*, nor is this Variation, reconciled in  
‘your Commissioners humble Opinion, either  
‘by his Lordship’s Letter or subsequent Deposition.

‘For tho’ his Lordship recollects himself in his  
‘Letter, and says that he believes 12,000 *l.* or  
‘thereabouts, was repaid to the Queen by her  
‘Majesty’s Servants in *Scotland*, and, to the best  
‘of his Remembrance, they prevailed with her  
‘Majesty not to require the Remainder of the  
‘20,000 *l.* and that he said he understood the  
‘Money was for secret Service in *Scotland*, he  
‘meant, that he thought so, but was not certain  
‘of it; yet that does in no Sort confirm or con-  
‘cur with the Evidence of the Earl of *Glasgow*;  
‘but this Letter being sent only on a doubtful  
‘Reflection, and the Facts contained in it being  
‘offer’d with so much Uncertainty; your Commis-  
‘sioners forbear to make any Conclusions from  
‘it.

‘But

‘ But the last Deposition seems to return to the first Condition of the Earl of *Glasgow*’s Evidence, for notwithstanding his Lordship does there admit the Repayment of the 12,000 *l.* or thereabouts, as mentioned in his Letter; he denies it was repaid, as he remembers, to himself, and deposes, that he doth not know of any Account of it, nor of a Warrant for the Disposal of it, since the Repayment, to any Persons whatsoever; which is so absolutely inconsistent with what the Earl of *Glasgow* mentions in his Letter concerning his passing an Account for this Money; besides the Repayment is supposed by the Earl of *Godolphin* to be made to the Queen, whereas the Earl of *Glasgow* (as hath been said) Charges it positively upon the Earl of *Godolphin* himself.

‘ How far these Depositions and Letters are capable of being explain’d into a Consistency with each other; your Commissioners must leave to the Wisdom and Determination of the House; but ’tis obvious that there is no where any Pretence of a Repayment of 7675 *l.* Remainder of 20,000 *l.* nor any satisfactory Account given of the 12,325 *l.* since repaid.

This Matter went no farther in Prejudice to his Lordship; who retiring in the Summer to the Duke of *Marlborough*’s House near *St. Albans* in the County of *Hertford*, he died there on the 15th of *September*, at the Age of about 68. He had been for some Years, more or less, afflicted with that terrible Distemper the Stone, the Pains whereof growing more violently upon him, now put a Period to his Life. His Death.

My Lord *Godolphin* was by Nature more fitted for the retir’d than the busy Scene of Life; rather, and his natural Temper had so far the Ascendency, that tho’ he had been bred a Courtier from his Youth, he in reality lived privately; amidst all the Poms and Gayeties of a Palace; His Character.

affecting neither Splendor in his own Person, nor in his Equipage ; which indeed was too mean and scanty for a Man that moved in so high a Sphere, and held the Rudder of State so long and so successfully in his Hand : His Diversions were *Play* and *Horse-racing*, in neither of which was he unsuccessful : As to the latter, I doubt *New-Market* will miss him, since his Lordship, ever since the Death of the late Duke of *Devonshire*, which happen'd in the Year 1707, took up with open House-keeping there, during the Season of Racing.

His Fortune, soon after he lost the White-Staff, was augmented with an Estate of about 5000*l. per Annum* by the Death of his eldest Brother Sir *William Godolphin* ; and if what many then reported, concerning the Scantiness of his own were true, this Addition came very seasonably and providentially. The same Rumour prevailed after his Lordship's Death, tho' I am satisfy'd, without just Grounds ; and indeed it must be a great Reflection upon his Conduct, that he who had been for 50 Years in good Posts, about 30 of which he spent in the Treasury, and he who was so great and frugal a Manager of the publick Money, should be so careless of his own Fortune, which, according to Reason, must have been the largest of any Subject in *Europe*, if there had been any Truth in the vile Reports of his Enemies : In short, a better Lord Treasurer than the Earl of *Godolphin*, *England* never had before him, since the Reign at least of Queen *Elizabeth*, and surely 'tis wishing his Successors and my Country no manner of Harm, that they may always exceed him.

*Bu 14.*

The Corps being privately brought up from *St. Alban's* to *London*, was on *Wednesday Night October 8th*, carried from the *Jerusalem Chamber* into the Abbey-Church of *Westminster*, and there interr'd ; there being four Knights of  
the

the Garter who held up the Pall, and those were the Dukes of *Richmond*, *Schomberg*, *Devonshire* and *Marlborough*.

He Married *Margaret*, at that time Maid of His Majesty's Honour to *Catherine*, Queen of England, fourth Daughter, and one of the Coheirs of *Thomas* Issue. *Blague*, of *Harrington* in the County of *Sussex*, Esq; (Groom of the Bed-chamber to King *Charles* I. and King *Charles* II. Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Governour of *Wallingford*, during the Civil War.; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot-Guards, and Governour of *Tarmouth* and *Landguard* Fort, after the Restoration) by whom he had Issue *Francis*, now Earl of *Godolphin*, of whom she died in Child-bed, after which the Earl never re-married.

*Francis* Earl of *Godolphin*, bred in his younger Years at *Eaton* School, and afterwards at *Cambridge*, was sometime Cofferer to her present Majesty, a Member of several Parliaments, and once Knight of the Shire for the County of *Oxford*, married the Lady *Henrietta Churchill*, eldest Daughter, and one of the Coheirs of *John Churchill* Duke of *Marlborough*, having Issue by her one Son named *William*, and *Henrietta* a Daughter.

The Arms are Gules, an Eagle with two Heads display'd, between three Fleurs de Lis, Argent.

I shall conclude the whole with the following Character given of his Lordship by a sprightly Pen, the truth of which I know People will judge, as they are affected to a Party; to such a wretched Pass we are come, that nothing will content us but what is of our Side. 'My His Character by  
'*Godolphin* was Useful to his Friends, and In-  
'offensive to his Adversaries; his Birth, his E-  
'ducation and good Qualities had fitted him  
'to engage the Favour and Affection of his  
'Prince, which he obtain'd to a good Degree,  
and



and used with great Moderation : He was in  
 many high Employments, and was found equal  
 to them all ; he was made Noble, and no one  
 envy'd him, nor wonder'd at it, because they  
 saw he was ambitious only to deserve that  
 Honour, without pretending to or seeking it.  
 After full forty Years Attendance on the  
 Court, and great Deservings from it, he re-  
 ceiv'd the Treasurer's Staff, not only with  
 the Expectation, but the Wishes and the Sa-  
 tisfaction of the whole Kingdom. His great  
 Abilities, and long Experience in all Sorts of  
 Business ; his general Knowledge of all the  
 Branches of the Revenue ; his quick Appre-  
 hension, wonderful Dispatch, almost unerring  
 Judgment, together with his Integrity and Ho-  
 nesty, and his most plain and upright Deal-  
 ings ; these Things had so prepared his Way,  
 and gained him so universal Credit and Esteem,  
 that every Body thought, no Place could be be-  
 stowed better, nor would be better filled.  
 Thus he obtained his Office without any En-  
 mity or Ill-will. The great Ones were not heard  
 to murmur at his strange Advancement ; nor  
 did the Common People gaze upon him like a  
 Meteor, blazing and burning out upon the  
 sudden, portending Change, and threatening  
 Ruin. Nor did he use his Office, or employ his  
 Power to any ones Offence or Provocation.  
 He was a Man of few Words, but great Truth ;  
 few Promises, but strict Performance. He  
 would not so much as by a kind Look, an un-  
 usual Familiarity, or any affected Freedom of  
 Discourse or Gesture, raise any Hope or Ex-  
 pectation of Promotion, Place, or Office, where  
 he intended no such Favour ; so that he de-  
 ceived none, and disappointed few, whose  
 Hopes outrain all manner of Encouragements ;  
 and every Body knows he kept no State, he  
 had no Ostentation, Pride or Insolence in  
 his

his Behaviour. He was by Nature, Grave,  
Reserv'd and Taciturn ; but without Arro-  
gance or Scorn of others : And when he most  
relaxed, and let himself into the greatest  
Freedoms, they were such as might be told  
Abroad without any hazard of his Fame or  
Virtue.





# MEMOIRS

O F

# JAMES,

## Duke of Hamilton.

*His Descent and Parentage.*



**T**HAT this Nobleman both by Father and Mother-side descended from one of the most ancient and Illustrious Families of *Britain*, is beyond all manner of Dispute; and it would take up several Volumes to recount the Lives and Heroick Actions of his Ancestors, which by no means quadrates with our Design: His Father, *William Dowglass*, Earl of *Selkirk*, was the eldest Son by a second Venter to *James* Marquess of *Dowglass*; his Mother was the Lady *Anne Hamilton*, the eldest Daughter of *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Neice of *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, which last dying without Issue, the Honour of *Hamilton* devolved upon her, and with it a very noble and plentiful Fortune; which

which together with her self she bestow'd upon that Comely, Wise and Brave Lord, who some time after, by the favour of King *Charles II.* was created, if I mistake not, Duke of *Hamilton*, for Life only.

The eldest Son from this Marriage, was born *His Birth* in or about the Year 1657, was baptiz'd by the *1657.* Name of *James*, and entituled by the Courtſie of his COUNTRY, Earl of *Arran*: having been nobly Educated in his own Country, and after-*Education* wards accomplish'd himself with travelling in Foreign Parts; after his return Home, he resided mostly at the Court of *England*, the Diversions whereof he was not unacquainted with. I will not dwell upon the Character and Manners of that Age, but take notice that some Piece of Gallantry or other having engag'd him, who from his early Youth was observed to be very Brave and High-spirited, in a Quarrel with *Charles Lord Mordaunt*, now Earl of *Peterborough* and *Monmouth*. The Duel which ensued was much talk'd of *Fights the* in those Days, they fought in *Greenwich Park*; *Lord Mor-* their Weapons were Sword and Pistol a Foot, daunt in the Earl firing first, very narrowly mis'd the *Greenwich* Lord *Mordaunt*, upon which the other having *Park.* the Earl's Life in his Hands, generously fired his Pistol in the Air; and, upon the Importunity of the Lord *Mordaunt* they came to their Swords: This last received a Wound about the Privy Parts, but running the Earl into the Thigh, his Sword broke; so that his Life, in his turn, came into the Earl's Power, who as honourably gave it him, and they parted good Friends.

These noble *British* Youths shew'd much more Honour and Generosity, than two Persons, even of greater Quality than themselves, did in *France* about thirty Years before; and those were the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Beaufort*, the last of *1652.* which

which striving for Precedency of the other ; *Nemours* challeng'd him : They went on Foot together to the Horse-Market at *Paris*, on the 30th of *July* 1652, with Sword and Pistol, and had each of them four Seconds, the Count *de Forny*, *Messieurs Ris*, *Herecourt* and *Brillet* were for *Beaufort* ; and the *Marquess de Valours*, who carry'd the Challenge, *Messieurs Champ*, *Ueck* and *Chasse*, for *Nemours*. The Duke of *Nemours* discharg'd his Pistol and mis'd his Adversary, *Beaufort* discharg'd his and killed *Nemours*, whose Sister he had married ; the Seconds also fought, and *Herecourt*, as also *Ris*, both dy'd of their Wounds.

Lord of  
the Bed-  
chamber  
to King  
Charles.

The Earl of *Arran*, ever since he came to the State of Manhood, found himself at Home at Court ; he had the Honour to be admitted one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber to King *Charles II.* whom he served very faithfully ; and by whom he was sent Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, to Congratulate the Birth of *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*, now King of *Spain*, which Office he discharg'd with Exactness and Fidelity.

Envoy in  
France.

Encount-  
ers the  
Grand  
Prior.

I know not whether it was now, or before, in the time of his Travels in *France*, that his Lordship happen'd one Day to be Hunting with the King, and supposing himself some way or other affronted by the Grand Prior, he pulled him off his Horse, and clapping his Hand upon his Sword in the King's Presence, his Majesty interposed and made up the Breach to his Satisfaction ; who came off upon this Occasion, in the Opinion of the World, with high Commendations of his Courage and Audacity.

His first

*Marriage*. The Earl some time, as I take it, before the Death of King *Charles II.* took to Wife the Lady *Anne Spencer*, eldest Daughter of *Robert* late Earl of *Sunderland*, by whom he had one Daughter, the time of whose Death, as well as that

that of the Countess her Mother; I cannot positively assign.

When King *James II.* came to the Crown, Colonel of the Earl found himself in the good Graces of *Horse*. that Prince also; who having an opportunity to augment his Army by the Rebellion of the Duke of *Monmouth* in the *West*, the Earl *Arran* was honoured with the Command of a Regiment of *Horse* in those new Levies: In this Post, he demeaned himself with good Conduct on all Occasions that offered, and when the Prince of *Orange*, about the end of the Year 1688 came over with an Army from *Holland*, to rescue the Nation from the Dangers it lay exposed to, the Earl with his Regiment march'd to *Salisbury* to oppose his Highness. There *John Lord Churchill* (as well as others) but now Duke of *Marborough*, then Captain and Colonel of the third Troop of *Horse-Guards*, having thought fit to desert the King, and to go over to the Prince, Made Ca- the Duke of *Berwick*, who was Colonel of *Ox-*ford's Regiment, had that Troop of *Guards* given *Oxford's* him by his Majesty, who in like manner Con- Regiments- stituted the Earl of *Arran* Colonel of *Oxford's* in the Duke's room.

It should have been observed before, that the Earl seem'd to be very Compliant with King *James* his Designs and Methods to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power into his *Signs a* Dominions: That Prince began with *Scotland*, *Letter a-* where his Privy Council readily concurring to publish his Proclamation for Liberty of *bout Li-* Con- science, and for Repealing the Laws made against *science* Papists in that Kingdom; they thereupon wrote a Letter to his Majesty to acquaint him there- *to King* with, which was signed by the Earl of *Perth*, *James* Lord Chancellor, the Archbishops of *St. An-* *drew* and *Glasgow*, and several other Lords and Gentlemen: But there being at that time several of the Privy-Council at *London*, they order'd it

it should be sign'd by them also, of whom the Earl of *Arran* was one: The others were the Earl of *Murray*, the Earl of *Melfort*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, the Earls of *Drumlanrig*, *Winton*, *Seaford*, *Ancrum* and *Dumbarton*.

King *James II.* in *June* 1687, having been pleased by a Patent under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, to revive and restore the most ancient and most noble Order of the Thistle to its full Lustre, Glory and Magnificence (instituted about the Year of our Lord 809, by *Achaius* King of *Scots*, and never disused till the intestine Troubles which happen'd in the Reign of his Great Grand-mother *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*) he first nominated the Earls of *Murray*, *Melfort*, *Seaford* and *Dumbarton* to be admitted into that Order; and soon after the Earl of *Perth*, Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of *Athol* Privy-Seal, the Duke of *Gordon*, and last of all the Earl of *Arran* were named by him to be received thereinto by Commissioners for that Effect: The Nomination of four more to Compleat the Number of that Order, consisting of the Sovereign and twelve Knights Brethren, in allusion to our Saviour and the Twelve Apostles, being delay'd until the Sovereign should think fit to declare the same.

We come now to his Lordship's Behaviour upon the Revolution; when King *James* withdrew the second and last time from *London* in order to retire into *France*: He bid the Lords then about him Adieu, with Tears in his Eyes; and desiring the Earl of *Ailesbury* to accompany him as far as *Gravesend*: The Earl's of *Arran*, *Litchfield* and *Dumbarton*, Voluntarily waited on him thither also.

The Earl, according to the Example of almost all the Nobility that were then in *London*, thought it necessary in that Conjunction to go also and wait upon the Prince; but his prevailing

vailing Affection for the King spoiled his Complement: Indeed, he excused himself for being one of the last that came, but then he added; *His Com-  
ment so  
that if the King had not withdrawn out of the Kingdom, he should not have done it: In return him.*  
of this, the Prince told his Lordship the next day, that he had disposed of his Regiment of Horse *Losses his  
and restored to it the Earl of Oxford its old Colo- Regiment.  
nel, who had it to his dying day.*

The Prince of Orange on the 7th of January, having assembled such Scotch Lords and Gentlemen, as were then in London, and told them that the only Reason which induced him to undergo so great an undertaking, was that he saw the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms overturned and the Protestant Religion in imminent Danger; and that seeing there were there so many Noblemen and Gentlemen, he had called them together that he might have their Advice, what was to be done for securing the Protestant Religion and restoring their Laws and Liberties according to his Declaration: As soon as the Prince retired, the assembly went to the Council Chamber at White-Hall, and having chosen the Duke of Hamilton their President, the Main thing they took into Consideration was an Address to his Highness to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom of Scotland; upon which Occasion the Earl of Arran delivered himself in these Words.

*Prince of  
Orange his  
Speech to  
an Assembly  
of  
Scotch  
Lords and  
Gentlemen.*

My Lords,  
I Have all the Honour and Deference for the Prince of Orange imaginable; I think him a brave Prince, and that we owe him great Obligations, in Contributing so much for our Delivery from Popery; but while I pay him those Praises, I cannot violate my Duty

*Arran's  
Speech in  
the Assembly.*



‘ Duty to my Master : I must distinguish between his *Popery* and his *Person* : I dislike the one, but have sworn and owe Allegiance to the other ; which makes it impossible for me to sign away that, which I cannot forbear believing, is the King my Master’s Right ; for his present Absence from us, by being in *France*, can no more affect our Duty, than his long Absence from us in *Scotland*, has done all this while.

My Lords,

‘ The Prince in his Paper desires our Advice ; mine is, that we should move his Highness to desire his Majesty to return and call a Free Parliament, for the securing our Religion and Property, according to the known Laws of that Kingdom, which in my humble Opinion, will at last be found the best way to heal all our Breaches.

*The Proposal much disliked and what ensued upon it.*

This Speech seem’d displeasing to the whole Assembly ; so that Sir *Patrick Hume* on the 9th desired to know if there were any there that would second it : But none appearing to do it ; he said that what the Earl had proposed was evidently Opposite and Inimicous to his Highness, the Prince of *Orange* his undertaking, his declaration, and good Intention of preserving the Protestant Religion and of restoring their Laws and Liberties express’d in it, and farther desired that the Assembly should declare this to be their Opinion of it. He was seconded by the Lord *Cardross* : It was answered by Duke *Hamilton*, the President of the Assembly, tho’ sufficiently dissatisfied with his Son’s Conduct, that it was their business to prepare an Advice to be offered to the Prince ; and the Advice being now ready to be put to the Vote, there was no need the Assembly should

### Duke of Hamilton.

should give their Sence of the Earl's Proposals, which neither before nor after Sir Patrick's Motion, any had pretended to own or second; so that it was fallen out of Doors, and that the Vote of the meeting, upon the Advice brought in by their order, would sufficiently declare their Opinion: So that there was no more said of the Earl's Proposals at that time.

The Earl of *Arran's* Regiment upon his being promoted to that of *Oxford* was given to his next Brother *Charles*, Earl of *Selkirk*, but the same taken soon from him by the Prince of *Orange*, and Conferred on Colonel *Godfrey*: The Old Duke of *Hamilton* shew'd no Disinclination to the Prince and the common Cause upon this Change: Its true when sometime after the old *Douglafs* Regiment, Commanded by the Earl of *Dumbarton*, was given by the Prince to *Marschal Schomberg*: The Duke said, *he thought it hard that a Regiment, which had been a hundred and fifty Years in his Family should be disposed of to a Stranger*: His Son *Arran* was at this time so little in his Esteem that he never Solicited it for him; but he imagined there would be no difficulty to obtain it for his Son *Selkirk*; which did not succeed tho in Process of time it fell to the Share of his third brave Son *George*, Earl of *Orkney*, who is now Colonel of it.

The Prince and Princess of *Orange* had been but a short time declared King and Queen of *England*, when the Earl of *Arran* passing along in his Chair was set upon at Eleven at Night by four or five People with drawn Swords, but he defended himself so well, and was so well seconded by his Footmen and Chairmen, that he came off with two or three slight Wounds in the Hand. This Insult upon the Earl, was artfully given out, to be offered

Sent to  
the Tower.  
cr.

offered him upon the Account of his Adherence to the Interest of King *James* ; but it was thought it proceeded from another Cause, and what is vulgarly called a *Suspicion of Debs*. Be it as it will, he soon after this was together with Sir *Robert Hamilton* and two *Scotchmen* more taken up and Committed Prisoners, to the *Tower*. The Lord *Forbes* eldest Son to the Earl of *Granard* in *Ireland*, was likewise sent to the same place: Now the King having Constituted new Judges in *Westminster-Hall*, the Earl moves for a *Habeas Corpus* ; by vertue of which he was brought before the King's Bench-Bar : But some Defect being found in the form of the Act he was remaind for some Days and then admitted to Bail. These were the Earl's of *Alesbury*, *Scardsdale* and *Feversham*, who were each of them Bound in the Sum of five thousand pounds for his Appearance. None of these three *Peers* were reputed at that time to be well affected to the New Government: The first of them is still living in *Flanders* and a Nonjuror, the second dyed so after : But the third whose Nature was to be a Courtier, Comply'd ; and some small Complacencies were shew'd him both in the late and present Reign.

Bail'd out

My Lord *Arran* being thus free from his Confinement, thought it his best way as well in Respect to the publick, as to the ill State of his Domestick Affairs, to retire for the present into *Scotland*, where his Father had been for some time before ; who being intirely in the Interest of King *William*, that Prince had sent him down into that Kingdom, where he was chosen President of the Convention of the States of *Scotland* by a Majority of near Forty Voices, against the Marquels of *Athol*, and Contributed very much to the Fixing of him on the Throne of *Scotland*. His Merits had undoubtedly in some Measure attain'd for the

Refractormen

Refractoriness of the Son and hastned his Releasement.

What ever Sentiments the Earl entertained from hence forward concerning the Revolution and the times which ensued, I cannot pretend to determine: Its likely the Authority and Influence of the Duke his Father, and his own Inclination might by degrees reconcile him in some Measure to the Change. But be it as it will, it does not appear but that he liv'd peaceably, and quietly till the Death of <sup>His Fa-</sup> Father Duke William, which happen'd in or <sup>about the</sup> Year 1695. he being at that time one of the extraordinary Lords of the Session in the Kingdom of Scotland: But the Earl neither advanced in Honour and not very much in Estate by this Demise. The Title of the Dutchy <sup>Continues</sup> of *Hamilton*, and the Bulk of the Estate <sup>still</sup> Earl remaining in the Dutchess by Right of Inheritance, he continu'd still to be no more than Earl of *Arran*; and the Dutchess remain'd in Possession of her own Estate (which I am inform'd is about seven thousand Pounds a Year) and still enjoys it.

But her Grace, as well as the Earl her Son, being desirous he should have the Title of Duke conferr'd on him, upon his Marriage, if I mistake not, with the Lord *Gerrard of Bromley's* Daughter; King *William*, being willing to gratifie the Family, readily gave his Consent the Dutchess should resign her Hereditary Title to him, which was done accordingly: His Majesty was then at *Loo*, attended by the Earl of *Selkirk*, and having Power, says the *London Gazette* of that time, from the Dutchess of *Hamilton* his Mother, surrender'd to his Majesty her Grace's Honour and Title to the Dutchy of *Hamilton*; and all her other Honours and Titles, in favour of the Earl of *Arran* her eldest Son; upon which his Majesty signed a Patent, creating him Duke of *Hamilton*;

*Hamilton*, with all the other Titles that were in the Person of the said Dutchess, and with Precedency in the same manner as if he had succeeded thereto by her decease. But notwithstanding all this Compliance, the Mother being the Widow of a Duke at the same time, still retain'd the Title of Dutchess by virtue of that Right.

Her present Majesty, upon her Accession to the Throne, having thought fit to continue King *William's* Parliament in *Scotland*, and the same meeting on the 9th of *June* 1702, the Duke of *Hamilton* crav'd to be heard, and tho' desir'd by the Lord Chancellor to sit still, till the Queen's Commission was read, and the House Constituted; yet he persisted and spoke a few Words in his own Name, and in the Name of the other Members, who adher'd to him, which were to this effect.

*Duke's  
Speech a-  
gainst the  
Illegality  
of the  
Scotch  
Parlia-  
ment 1702*

That they were come there in obedience to her Majesty's Commands, and that they were all heartily glad at her Majesty's Accession to the Throne of that Kingdom, not meerly on the Account that it was her undoubted Right, as being lineally descended from the ancient Race of their Kings, but likewise because of the many Personal Vertues and Royal Qualities her Majesty was endow'd with, which gave them Ground to hope, that they should enjoy under her auspicious Reign, all the Blessings that could attend a Nation, which had a loving and gracious Sovereign, united with a dutiful and loving People; that they were resolv'd to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of her Majesty's Right, against all her Majesty's Enemies whatsoever; and that they had all the Defence and Respect for her Majesty's Government and Authority, that was due from Loyal Subjects to their Rightful and Lawful Sovereign: But that at the same time they acknowledg'd

knowledg'd their Submission to her Majesty's Authority, they thought themselves in Duty, by vertue of the Obedience they ow'd to the standing Laws of the Nation, and because of the Regard they ought to have for the Rights and Liberties of their fellow Subjects, to declare their Opinion as to the Legality of that Meeting; that they did not think themselves warranted by Law, to Sit and Act any longer as a Parliament; and that by so doing they should incur the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, if ever their Proceedings should come to be question'd by a subsequent Parliament.

The Duke then read a Paper, which contain'd *with-  
draws* the Reasons of their dissenting from the Proceedings of the other Members, who thought themselves impower'd to Sit and Act as a Parliament, and then his Grace withdrew, and was followed by seventy nine Members, who adher'd to him in the Dissent. The Words of the Paper which the Duke read in the House before he withdrew, were these.

‘ Forasmuch as by the fundamental Laws and *The Paper  
deliver’d  
in by him*  
‘ Constitutions of this Kingdom, all Parliaments  
‘ do dissolve by the Death of the King or Queen,  
‘ excepting so far as innovated by the 17th Act,  
‘ 6th Session of King *William’s* Parliament im-  
‘ powering the Parliament in being at his Ma-  
‘ jesty’s Death; to Meet and Act what should be  
‘ needful for the Defence of the true Protestant  
‘ Religion, as now by Law establish’d, and main-  
‘ taining the Succession to the Crown as settl’d  
‘ by the Claim of Right, and for preserving and  
‘ securing the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom.  
‘ And now seeing that the said Ends are fully  
‘ satisfied by her Majesty’s Succession to the  
‘ Throne, whereby the Religion and Peace of  
‘ the Kingdom is secur’d, we conceive our selves  
‘ not now warranted by this Law to Meet, Sit  
‘ or Act, therefore do dissent from any thing  
‘ that

‘ that shall be done or acted, and thereupon take  
‘ Instruments:

*Addreses  
the Queen  
without  
succes.*

The Duke and his Adherents were so far from gaining their Point, that an Act was soon passed for declaring the Meeting of that Parliament lawful; and then having drawn up a Letter in answer to that of her Majesty's, read to them at the opening of the Sessions, on the other Hand, the dissentient Party, of whom the Duke of *Hamilton* was Chief, prepared an Address to be presented to her Majesty to justify their own Proceedings, and sent the same up to Court by the Lord *Blantire*: But her Majesty declin'd to receive it, tho' she was pleased to allow my Lord to see her; and having, with her Council, well weigh'd this perplexing Affair, she resolv'd to adhere to the Parliament Conven'd by her Authority, and sent them a Letter to signify as much, as well as her Relentment of the irregular and unusual Proceedings of those that withdrew, who were the Duke of *Hamilton* and his Adherents.

*A new  
Parlia-  
ment cal-  
led 1703*

The Queen having been pleased to call a new Parliament in *Scotland*, they met at *Edinburg* on the 6th of *May* 1703; the Duke of *Queensbery* presided here as her Majesty's High-Commissioner, and the Earl of *Seaheld* was Lord Chancellor: The grand Business of the Session was the Act of Security of the Kingdom, to which the High-Commissioner and the Court of *England* were at that time very averse; so that when the Earl of *Roxburg* brought in a Clause to be added to the Bill, which would be conditionally prejudicial to the *Hanover* Succession, the High-Commissioner seeing how it was like to go, order'd the Chancellor to adjourn the Parliament; upon which the Duke of *Hamilton*, and other Noblemen and Gentlemen, protesting against the Adjournment, ar unwarrantable, illegal, contrary to the Claim of Right, and to the

*Protest  
against  
the Ad-  
journment.*

the

the 40th Act of the 11th Parliament of King James VI. After the said Protestation, his Grace and some other Noblemen and Gentlemen retir'd, and drew up and signed an Address to her Majesty:

The Duke and his Party in the next Session <sup>Makes a</sup> of the Parliament begun in July 1704, and in <sup>Speech.</sup> which the Marquess of Tweeddale presided as High-Commissioner, had better Success in respect to the Act of Security: The Duke, on the 13th, made a Speech, desiring that her Majesty's Letter might be consider'd, and likewise the Nomination of a Protestant Successor, but insisted at the same time, that Commissioners might be named to treat previously with *England*. This occasioned a grand Debate some Days after, notwithstanding which, the Resolve presented by the Duke of *Hamilton*, viz. that the Parliament would not proceed to a Nomination of a Successor, unless they had a previous Treaty with *England*, for regulating their Commerce, and other Concerns with that Nation, was carried by a great Majority.

Now the Earl of *Marchmont* having about this time spoke to this Effect, that since the House had resolved not to fall immediately upon settling the Succession, it was highly reasonable to make an Act to exclude all Popish Successors, as the most effectual Means to secure the Peace of the Kingdom; the Duke of *Hamilton* said thereupon, that it was not then a proper Season to answer that Proposal, but that it should be answer'd another time; this occasioned some Debate, and the Earl alledged it was contrary to the Custom of Parliament to interrupt a Member, but nothing was resolved upon it. <sup>Interrupts the Earl of Marchmont.</sup>

When the Business of the Union between the two Kingdoms was set on Foot in good earnest in 1706, the Duke of *Hamilton* was a great



Stickler against it, and Mr. *Fletcher of Salton*, in the Course of their Proceedings in the *Scotch* Parliament having acquainted the House, 'That he had received an Information, since his coming thither, that the Magistrates of *Edinburg* had called the Printers in that City before them, and made every one of them enter into a Bond of 500 Marks, to Print nothing but what was first Revis'd and Approv'd by the Council of *Edinburg*; and that eight Gentlemen complain'd of this, as the beginning of an Inquisition; he was seconded by his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton*; but the Lord Chancellor protesting that he knew nothing of it, the Matter ended.

*Duke's  
Speech  
about the  
Quota of  
Lords and  
Commons.*

It would be too tedious as well as foreign to this Design, to enter upon the Particulars of the Union, and therefore we will confine our selves only to those Parts wherein the Duke had a more immediate Share, and observe, that when the Article about the *Scotch* Lords and Commons, that were to be admitted to the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and the Proceedings of the Commissioners relating to the same, were read; there were sharp Speeches on both Sides, particularly betwixt the Marquess of *Ammandale* and Earl of *Stair*, Mr. *Fletcher of Salton*, the Lord Justice Clerk, and Sir *A. Home*. And the Duke of *Hamilton* concluded with one, wherein many Doubts were propos'd about the yielding the Precedency of the *Scots* Peers to all the *English* of the same Rank; to which no Answer was given, nor any Vote propos'd at that time.

Now the Act for the Security of the *Scotch* Church having pass'd with a great Majority, nevertheless the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Duke of *Athol*, Marquess of *Ammandale*, Earls of *Errol*, *Marijchal*, *Wigton*, and others, adher'd to the  
Lord

*Belhaven's* Protestation. To clog the Wheels as much as possible, the Duke proposed the following Clause to be added to the 5th Article of the Union, 'That for the space of seven Years, *The Duke* from and after the Concluding the Treaty of *proposes a* Union in both Kingdoms, it is expressly agreed, *Clause to* 'That none of the Seamen or Mariners on board *be added* any of the Ships belonging to the Subjects of *to the 5th* that Part of United *Britain*, now call'd *Scotland*, *Article of* shall either at Home or Abroad be Pres'd from *the Union* on board their said Ships, to serve in any of her Majesty's Ships of War, or Frigots: And in case, after the said seven Years, it shall happen that there be a Levy of Seamen in United *Britain*, that Part now call'd *Scotland* shall only be burden'd with such a Proportion of our Taxes bear in Proportion to that Part of United *Britain* now call'd *England*, but without prejudice to the Officers of her Majesty's Ships or Fleet, to engage as many Volunteer Seamen in their Service as they can agree with, in this Part of United *Britain*; and this Article to be unalterable by any subsequent *British* Parliament. This being read, after some Reasoning thereupon, it was put to the Vote, Add the second Clause, or Not; and it was carried in the Negative.

Some were of Opinion, that notwithstanding all the seeming Zeal of the Duke against the Union, that he acted a Counter-part before the finishing of it: But this I'll leave wholly undetermin'd, and come to observe, that the *French* King and his Pupil the Pretender observing a pretty general Discontent in the *Scotch* Nation, upon the Account of the Union, they resolv'd to invade it in the Spring of the Year 1708; but the Design being happily prevented, many Noblemen and Gentlemen were thereupon taken up in *North Britain*, and the Duke being then in *England*, he was by a Warrant from the Privy

*Duke Hamilton* Council ordered to be taken into the Custody of a Messenger upon Suspicion of his being privy to the Pretender's Expedition into *North Britain*; Mr. *Thornborough* went down to his House in *Staffordshire*, and having attended there for several Days, till his Grace could be ready, the more commodiously to travel to *London*; he was not long arriv'd, before he was admitted to Bail in the Earl of *Sunderland's* Office; the Duke of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Wharton*, the Lord *Hallifax*, &c. being the Noble Lords that were pleased to be Surety for him, which occasioned many Speculations.

*Bail'd,  
and by  
whom.*

*One of the  
Scotch  
Peers cho-  
sen for the  
United  
Parlia-  
ment.*

Whatever sinister Opinion some in *England* might entertain concerning this great Man, its certain the *Scotch* Grandees had quite other Sentiments, for on the 17th of *June* the same Year, at an Assembly of the Peers of *Scotland* at *Holy-Rood-House*, were nominated and chosen by open Election, the sixteen Peers to sit and vote in the ensuing Parliament, viz. The Duke of *Hamilton*, the Duke of *Montrose*, the Duke of *Roxborough*; the Marquess of *Lothian*; the Earl of *Crawford*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Earl of *Roths*, the Earl of *Orkney*, the Earl of *Northesk*, the Earl of *Loudun*, the Earl of *Wymes*, the Earl of *Leven*, the Earl of *Senfield*, the Earl of *Roseberry*, the Earl of *Glasgow*, the Earl of *Islay*.

In the second Sessions of this Parliament the grand Affair of Dr. *Sacheverell's* Sermon came upon the Stage, in which the Duke stickled as much for him and the High Church Interest, as he had done about three Years before for the Security of the *Scotch* Kirk: I need not tell the Event.

*Made  
Lt. Lieu-  
tenant of  
Lancashire  
1710.*

It was in *October* or thereabouts, this Year, that her Majesty as a Testimony of the Trust and Confidence she reposed in the Duke, was pleased to Constitute him Lord Lieutenant of the County Palatine of *Lancaster*, in the Room of  
*James*

James Earl of Derby, who was dispossessed of that Employment.

The dissolving of that Parliament, and the <sup>Elected</sup> calling of a new one ensued thereupon; the Duke <sup>again.</sup> was again elected one of the sixteen Peers to represent the Nobility of North Britain. In this Parliament the Duke shew'd himself entirely in the High-Church Interest, and being in favour at Court, her Majesty, about the beginning of June 1711, was pleased to make him, a <sup>Made</sup> Peer of Great Britain, by the Title of Baron of Duke of Dutton and Duke of Brandon, the Preamble to Brandon his Patent ran thus ; 1711.

*CUM generis claritate pro meritorum prestantia, His Patens constantia & immaculata fidelitate, vel ad mor- in Latin. tem usque, & sanguinis etiam propinquitate, majoris perquam fideles & intime admodum Dilecti Consanguinei & Consilarii Nostri Jacobi Ducis Hamiltonii, Marchionis Clidisdalia, Comitis Arrania & Lanerchi, Domini Polymontia, Avennia, Marchanshiria & Lanordalia, sese Prædecessoribus Nostri Regis Gloriosissima Memoriae plurimum commendaverint : Nos animadvertentes quod predictus Jacobus Dux Hamiltonii psacclaris nobilissime sue Familiae vestigiis insistens & virtutis laude & inconcussa Fidelitatis constantia sanguinis Conjunctionem, qua Regiam Nostram Domum prope attingit, porro illustrare perrexerit ; quo ipse & singularis Nostra Benevolentia Monumenta habeat & posteris ipsius Gloria & Dignitatis amplitudine ad res eximias ad Nominis Excellentia pares efficiendas accendantur, novis Titulorum honoribus auitum splendorem ornare atq; exaugere crevimus.*

Siatis, &c.

**W** H E R E A S the Ancestors of our very <sup>In Eng-</sup> Faithful and entirely Beloved Cousin and liith. Counsellor JAMES Duke of Hamilton, Marquess of Clidisdale, Earl of Arran, and Lanerch,  
Lord

Lord of *Polmont, Avan, Manchanshire and Innerdale*, have very much recommended themselves to Our Royal Predecessors of most Glorious Memory, by the Nobleness of their Birth, Eminent Services, and by their Unspotted Loyalty, even unto Death, and also their Proximity in Blood; We, taking notice that the said *JAMES Duke of Hamilton*, treading in the Steps of his most Noble Family, and by his Virtue, Unshaken Constancy and Fidelity, has continu'd to illustrate that Affinity by which he is related to Our *Royal Lineage*: That both himself may have some Monument of singular Benevolence, and that his Posterity may be excited by his Grandeur and Dignity, to perform things worthy of so great a Name, We have *Decreed* to Adorn and Advance with new Titles, the Ancient Honour descended to him from his Noble Ancestors.

*Now know ye, &c.*

*Observations upon the Titles of Brandon.*

*Brandon* is a Market Town in the County of *Suffolk*, upon the Lesser *Onse*, five Miles from *Thetford*, and ten North from *St. Edmundsbury*; I remember my Lord *Clarendon* says somewhere in his History of the Rebellion, That his Majesty King *Charles I.* being willing to make *Charles Gerrard of Halsal* in the County of *Lancaster*, Esq; Lieutenant-General of his Horse, in Consideration of his eminent and faithful Services, a Peer of the Realm, nothing would serve him, but he must have the Title of *Brandon*, and therefore he was on the 8th of *November*, in the 21st of that King's Reign created a Baron, by the Title of Lord *Gerrard of Brandon*, and afterwards Earl of *Macclesfield*: It appears no where, that I can find, that his Lordship was any ways related to that pompous Lord *Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk*. His Grace the Duke of *Hamilton* having married the Heiress of the Lord *Gerrard of Bromley* ( by a Daughter of this Earl of *Macclesfield* ) which

which was an elder Branch of that of *Macclesfield*, and both of them deriving their Origin from the great *Geraldine* Stock in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, it seems had a mind to this Title, once (tho' in a lower degree) vested in this Family.

The Duke, who was before one of the sixteen *Scotch* Peers, as aforesaid, now claim'd a Place in the House of Lords as Duke of *Brandon*, many of the Peers who apprehended no small Danger to our Constitution, from the admitting into their House, a greater Number of *Scotch* Peers, than were agreed to by the Act of Union, upon a due Consideration of the Proportion of Public Taxes paid by *Scotland*, resolv'd to oppose the said Claim. Hereupon, on *Monday*, the 10th of *December*, a Motion was made for taking that Matter into Consideration, which was done accordingly; but after a few Speeches the Debate was adjourn'd to the 12th. Some Court Lords who were sensible that the Discussing of this Affair would strike at the Royal Prerogative made, that Day, a Motion for adjourning, but it was carried by a Majority of three Voices only, that they should go on with the resumed Debate about the Duke of *Hamilton's* sitting in the House as Duke of *Brandon*. However, after some time spent therein, the further Consideration of that Business was put off till the 20th. The Queen being present, after the Council Learned in the Law had been heard for the Queen, the House of Lords and the Duke of *Hamilton*, several Speeches were made on both Sides, and the Debate lasted till eight in the Evening, when the Question was put, whether the twelve Judges should be consulted with; but this being carried in the Negative by fourteen Voices, Proxies included, another Question was put, whether *Scotch* Peers created Peers of *Great Britain*, since the Union, had a Right to sit in that House, which was

*Judgment* was also carried in the Negative by five Voices. The Duke since this Judgment did not sit in the House of Peers; tho' undoubtedly he might, as one of the sixteen for *North Britain*. So that his Grace was likely to receive no manner of Benefit by this new Title of *Brandon*, from which nevertheless it cannot properly be call'd a Degradation; of which, I cannot remember, unless in Cases of Treason, &c. above two Instances in our *English History*: The first is that of *George Nevil* (Son of *John Montacute*) who being created Duke of *Bedford*, by reason of his Father's Treason and Forfeiture of his Estate to *Edward* the IV. was in Parliament depriv'd of that Dignity for want of a competent Fortune to support him. The other was *Lionel Cranfield*, Earl of *Middlesex*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, in the Reign of King *James I.* whose Actions in that great Office (says *Wilson*) being narrowly canvassed in Parliament, he was found Guilty of such Misdemeanors as were not fit for a Man of Honour to commit; so that they had some thoughts of degrading him, but that they look'd on it as an ill President; but tho' they took not away his Titles of Honour in Relation to his Posterity, who had not offended, yet they made him utterly incapable of sitting in the House of Lords as a Peer.

Great was the License of the Press at this time, and some were so bold as to hand about the following Paper against his Grace.

By Beat of D R U M.

*A scandalous Paper upon the Duke.* ALL Gentlemen-Commoners, that are willing to Serve the *Fr--nch* K--g and the present *M--n--stry*, in the Regiment of *Sc--ch* L--ds, in the House of P--rs, under the Command of his J--es D. of *H--n*, Let them Repair to the Sign of the *White-Staff* in *York-Buildings*, the *Purse* in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, the *Gold--*

Gold-Key near Spring-Garden, and the Fring'd-Gloves in Golden Square; where they shall receive their Patents *Gratu*, ten French Pistoles in Gold, and a proportionable Pension, *Quam diu se bene gesserint*. With all fitting Encouragement.

So G O D blefs the King.

H U Z Z A.

*Dub a Dub, &c.*

Scandal as well as Ingratitude is a Weed that grows in every Soil, and nothing more difficult to be rooted out: However these things no way lessen'd the Duke in the Esteem of his Sovereign, who some time after was pleas'd to admit him to be a Member of her most Honour-  
*Made a Privy-Council.*

Upon the Death of *Richard Earl Rivers* at *the Bath*, on the 18th of *August* following, her Majesty gave the Duke the Place of Master-General of the Ordinance, and also nominated him to go Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*.  
*1712. Master of the Ordinance and Ambassador to France.*

The Duke's Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Cha-Rel-Herault* in *France* being back'd by the Demands of the Government on his behalf, his Friends had great Hopes they would be favour-ably answer'd, especially since he would have the Advantage and Opportunity, by vertue of his Ambassie, to sollicite his own Cause; and therefore its fit we should look a little back and observe, that *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, who during the Minority of *Mary Queen of Scots*, was, in the Parliament held *Anno 1542*, declar'd Regent of that Kingdom, was in the Year 1548, by *Henry II. King of France*, created Duke of *Chaftel-Herault*, in that Kingdom: *1542.* *John* his Son succeeded him in his Honours, and *John Mar-* was by King *James VI.* our First, created Mar-ques of *Hamilton*, *Anno 1599*, being the first of that ton.



James  
Marquess  
of Hamil-  
ton.

William  
Duke of  
Hamilton.

Anne  
Duchess  
of Hamil-  
ton.

Earl of  
Abercorn  
claims.

Animosity  
between  
him and  
the Lord  
Mohun.

that enjoy'd that Dignity in *Scotland*: His Son *James*, Marquess of *Hamilton*, was Commissioner to the Parliament in 1621, and was the Father of another *James*, Marquess of *Hamilton*, but afterwards created Duke of *Hamilton*: His Brother *William*, Earl of *Lanerk*, succeeded him in that Honour. How far any of these claim'd or enjoy'd the Dutchy of *Chastel-Herault*, I cannot Account for; but these two Brothers dying without Heirs Male, the Lady *Anne*, eldest Daughter to Duke *James*, inherited the Honour and Estate of *Hamilton*, whose Son, the Duke, I presume, laid his claim in her Right to the Dutchy of *Chastel-Herault*: This Pretension was no sooner made publick, but it seems *James Hamilton*, Earl of *Abercorn*, thought himself interested in the Matter, and to have a prior Right to the Duke, who claim'd under a Female; whereas he is directly descended in a Male Line from the Lord *Cland Hamilton*, a younger Son of the first Duke of *Chastel-Herault* of this Family; and therefore he likewise put in his Claim, the Event whereof time alone must determine in respect to him and the young Duke of *Hamilton*. As for the Father, there being an untimely Fate hanging over his Head, we hasten to the Particulars of it.

The brave Duke did not live to see the Fruits of his Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Chastel-Herault*, for a Quarrel between him and the Lord *Mohun* determin'd both their Lives in *Hide Park*, on the 15th of *November*: The occasion of the Animosity between them was briefly thus; the Duke had married to his second Wife *Anne*, Daughter to the Lord *Digby Gerard*, by *Elizabeth* his Wife, Sister to the late Earl of *Macclesfield*: The Lady *Gerrard*, upon the Death of her Husband, the Lord *Digby Gerard*, was left Guardian to her Daughter, who having about 60000 *l.* to her Fortune, when the  
Duke

Duke courted her: for his Wife, he offered to content himself with the same Portion; and to prevent all future Contests and Disputes in Law, promised to give the Lady *Gerrard* a general Release of the Guardianship two Days after Marriage: For the Performance of which Promise he bound himself in a Bond of 10000 *l*.

The Lady *Gerrard*, after the Consummation of the Marriage, calling upon her Son in-Law to give her the Release above-mentioned, he not only declin'd it, but sought Relief in *Chancery*, against his 10000 *l*. Bond; which the Lady *Gerrard* so highly resented, that 'twas the general Opinion it shorten'd her Days, and inclined her by her Will to bequeath all she had to her Brother *Charles*, Earl of *Macclesfield*, leaving only a Legacy of five Shillings to her Daughter, and a Diamond Necklace, in case her Husband should consent to give the said Release.

The Duke's Non-Performance of his Promise lost him, in all probability, the entire Estate of the *Macclesfield* Family; and induc'd the Earl of *Macclesfield* to make the Lord *Mohun*, who had Married a Niece of his by his eldest Sister, after his Brother *Fitton*, his sole Heir.

The Duke thinking himself injur'd by the Will of the Lady *Gerrard* and Earl of *Macclesfield*, chose rather to forfeit his Bond of 10000 *l*. than not to vindicate his Claim to so considerable an Estate; in pursuance of which he exhibited a Bill in *Chancery* against my Lord *Mohun*, to oblige him, as remote Executor of the Lady *Gerrard* to give an Account of his Guardianship.

The Law Suit which had been depending for eleven Years, created naturally much ill Blood between their Lordships; their Animosity was undoubtedly increased on the one Side, by the Lord *Mohun's* obtaining a Decree in *Chancery*.

*Chancery*, whereby he was put into the Possession of a Estate of 3000*l.* value, belonging to the Duke, on the account of a Debt of 1500*l.* with Interest for a long term of Years; and on the other, by the Lord *Mohun's* Apprehension, either that the Duke would at least remove the Cause into the House of Peers, where he was like to have more Friends in that Juncture, or that upon his Grace his Return from *France*, he would beg and obtain of the Crown the late Earl of *Macclesfield's* Estate, upon Pretence that an Outlawry against that Peer had not been reversed in due Form: In short, this Animosity was so notorious, that when the News of the Duke's Death was brought to one of his nearest Relations, he said, *He had often forewarn'd him, being ever apprehensive of what had happen'd.*

I am no Party Man, I will not pretend to determine, whether my Lord *Mohun* or *Mac-*  
*The Duke's* *kartney* killed the Duke, Monsieur *Buiffere*,  
*Wounds.* who open'd the Duke's Body, in the presence of Dr. *Shadwell*, declared, that upon Examination he found the following Wounds, 1. One in the Right Arm, in the Joint of the Elbow, about an Inch deep, by which the Duke lost so much Blood, that he judg'd it to the occasion of his dying so soon. 2. A wound upon the Breast in the Left Side, between the second and third of the upper Ribs, about an Inch broad, penetrating downwards thro' the nervous Center of the Diaphragma or Midriff, and thro' the Omentum or Caul of the Abdomen, which Wound would, in all likelihood, have proved mortal, though not immediately. 3. A large Wound in the out side of the Right Leg, about seven Inches long, piercing through the Tarsus or Joint of the Foot, which Wound would have been very dangerous. 4. An inconsiderable Wound in the Left Foot. As to  
the

the Wound in the Duke's Breast, my Lord *Mobun* and *Mackartney's* Friends said, it was no difficult thing to account for my Lord *Mobun's* giving it him ; If we did but consider, that the Duke was Ambidexter, and used his Sword with equal Ease and Dexterity with both Hands ; so that having received the Wound in his Right Arm, 'tis probable he shifted his Sword to his Left, and push'd at the Lord *Mobun's* Left Groin, where he gave his Lordship the mortal Wound, and stooping open'd and presented his Left Breast to his Adversary : This is the more probable, because the Duke was found with his Sword in his Left Hand, nor is it possible otherwise to account for the Lord *Mobun's* mortal Wound. To this they farther added, that Mr. *Buissiere* being ask'd at Colonel *Hamilton's* Trial, If the Wound in the Duke's Right Arm, which was the cause of his sudden Death, would hinder the holding his Sword in his Right Hand ? He answer'd, that he might use that Arm for a while, it being the small and not the main Tendon that was cut : But 'tis certain likewise, that *Buissiere* said he was of Opinion, that after he received that Wound he made use of his Left Hand, and push'd at my Lord *Mobun* ; and the better to explain how the Duke could receive the Wound in his Left Pap from my Lord *Mobun*, Mr. *Buissiere* put himself in the Posture he supposed the Duke to have been in, to the great Satisfaction of the Court and the Spectators. I do not produce this Account as if I my self believed or would persuade any Body to believe that *Mackartney* did not give the Duke the Wound in the Breast, as Colonel *Hamilton* positively swore it : One should think, that he that had the Courage to fight such a Man as *Mackartney*, would scorn to belye him upon Oath ; and on the other Hand, if *Mackartney* did so barbarous a Fact, for which no Death is too severe, its a wonder *Hamilton* and the rest there present should suffer him to go off quietly as he did. I am inform'd that the Earl of *Selkirk*, the Duke's next Brother, since his decease, went over to France to negotiate the Affair of the Dutchy of *Chastel Hervault*, for the benefit of his Family ; and that having brought Matters near to bear, there comes a vast Sum of Money, some say 100000*l.* to them on that Account:

Dd

The

*His Corps  
to be  
carried to  
be interr'd  
at Hamil-  
ton.*

*His Chil-  
dren.*

The Duke's Corps I am told is yet preserv'd in *Eng-land*, and will be carried in State from *London* to *Scot-land*, there to be interr'd at *Hamilton* amongst his glorious Ancestors.

The Duke, by his second Lady, left three Sons and one Daughter; the eldest of which Sons, in his Father's Life time, entituled Marquess of *Clydsdale*, was with his Grand Mother the Dutchess at her Palace at *Hamilton*, when the Misfortune befel his Father, and to the Comfort of the Family, is a young Nobleman of great Expectation: I take his Name to be *James*. Another of his Sons was baptized by the Name of *Anne*, in Honour of our gracious Sovereign; I remember there was a Duke of *Montmorency* of this Name in *France*. The Names of the other Children I have not yet learnt.

*Origin of  
Duelling  
in Eng-  
land.*

We shall conclude these Memoirs with a Word or two concerning the Origin of Duelling amongst us: Duelling in the manner practis'd in our time, was first brought up about the middle of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: There was one Rowland York, a Londoner (*says Cambrden*) by Birth, a Man of a loose and dissolute Behaviour, and desperately audacious, famous in his time amongst the common Bullies and Swaggerers, who first, to the great Admiration of many at his Boldness, brought into England that bold and dangerous way of Fencing with the Rapier in Duelling, whereas the English till that time, used to fight with long Swords and Bucklers, striking with the edge, and thought it no part of a Man, either to push or strike beneath the Girdle.



MEMOIRS  
OF  
CHARLES  
Lord MOHUN.



THE Family of Mohun is very ancient, Sir *William de Mohun* the eldest of the Family. was one of those who accompanied the Norman Conqueror into *England*, and was an expert Commander in that Prince's Victorious Army. The chief Seat of the Family was *Dunster Castle*, where they flourish'd till the Reign of King *Edward III.* whom *John de Mohun* Honour served both in his Wars of *France* and *Flanders*: But *extin-* dying without Issue Male, the Title of *Baron de Mohun* guish'd. Lying thus dormant for several Ages; His Majesty King *Charles I.* thought fit to revive it in the Person of *John*, the Son of Sir *Reginald Mohun* of *Boconnock* in the County of *Cornwall*, Bar. *Reviv'd.* the chief Heir Male by a younger Branch of this Noble Family, and in the fourth of his Reign advanced him to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Mohun* of *Okehampton* in the County of *Devon*.

Charles  
Lord  
Mobun.

This *John Lord Mobun* was the Father of another *John*, who dying unmarried, the Honour devolved on his Brother, who by *Catherine* the Daughter of *Willes* of *Branber* in the County of *Soushampton*, Esq; was the Father of *Charles Lord Mobun*, who succeeding him in his Honour, married *Philippa*, one of the Daughters of *Arthur Annesley*, Earl of *Anglesea*, at that time Lord Privy-Seal, by whom he had Issue *Charles*, his Son and Heir, the unhappy Subject of these Memoirs.

His un-  
happy E-  
ducation.

This Noble Person having had the Misfortune to lose his Father in his tender Infancy, and his Mother taking to her second Husband ——— *Coward*, Esq; Sergeant at Law; this deprived him of the Advantage of an Education suitable to his Birth, whereby his Natural Parts and Genius remain'd uncultivated, and both his great Spirit, and the Narrowness of his Fortune having lead him early to Arms, he fell of Course into licentious Company; so that it is no wonder his Youth was mark'd by many unlucky Follies, and even criminal Excesses.

Try'd for  
the Mur-  
der of Mr.  
Mount-  
ford 1692.

This is what the best of his Lordship's Friends, must readily allow; but to be more particular, his Lordship had scarce attain'd to the Years of twenty when that famous Comedian *Mr. Mountford* was barbarously murder'd in *Drury-lane*, for which my Lord *Mobun*, on the 1<sup>th</sup> of *January* 1692, was try'd by his Peers; one Captain *Richard Hill*, who was in Company with his Lordship, and indeed actually committed the Murder, being fled from Justice. To run thro' the various Particulars and Circumstances of this Tryal, would exceed the Bounds of this Design very much; the Marquess of *Carmarthen*, being then Lord High Steward of *England* upon this solemn Occasion, after a fair and full Hearing, put the Question to their Lordships, whether the Lord *Mobun* was Guilty of the Murder of *William Mountford*, as he stood indicted, or not Guilty? The order of delivering their Opinions was to begin with the youngest Baron; his Grace having summon'd them up,

The 14<sup>th</sup> he acquainted the Court, that fourteen had found the Peers that Lord *Mobun* Guilty, and sixty nine not Guilty, and found him the Names of the Peers here follow: Guilty, the Lord *Gusley*, *Cape*, Lord *Clifford* of *Lansborough*, Lord *Colchester*, Lord

Lord *Weymouth*, Earl of *Warrington*, Earl of *Montmouth*, Earl of *Portland*, Earl of *Rochester*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Earl of *Sandwich*, Earl of *Westmoreland*, Earl of *Kingston*, Earl of *Bridgewater* and Earl of *Oxford*.

Those that Clear'd him were these; the Lord *Lempster*, Lord *Astburnham*, Lord *Cholmondeley*, Lord *Godolphin*, Lord *Osborn*, Lord *Arundel* of *Trevice*, Lord *Crew*, Lord *Cornwallis*, Lord *Granville*, Lord *Berkley* of *Stretton*, Lord *Lexington*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Vaughan*, Lord *Fermin*, Lord *Leigh*, Lord *Lovelace*, Lord *Brook*, Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord *Chandois*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Lord *Evers*, Lord *Fitzwalter*, Lord *Morley*, Lord *Berkley* of *Berkley*, Lord *de la Ware*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Lord *Viscounts Villiers*, *Longueville* and *Newport*; the Earls of *Scarborough*, *Marlborough*, *Montague*, *Falconberg*, *Abington*, *Radnor*, *Macclesfield*, *Feversham*, *Craven*, *Carlisle*, *Bath*, *Essex*, *Scarsdale*, *Sunderland*, *Thanet*, *Chesterfield*, *Carnarvon*, *Stamford*, *Rivers*, *Mulgrave*, *Manchester*, *Bolingbroke*, *Clare*, *Denbigh*, *Northampton*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Kent* and *Shrewsbury*; Earl of *Dorset* Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Devonshire* Lord Steward, Earl of *Lindsey* Lord Great Chamberlain; the Marquels of *Hallifax*; the Dukes of *St. Alban*, *Northumberland*, *Ormond*, *Somerset* and *Norfolk*; Earl of *Pembroke* Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord High Steward himself, who thereupon holding his White Staff in both his Hands, broke it in two, by which his Commission was dissolved.

It might now have been reasonably expected, that his Lordship would have bethought himself of keeping Try'd for sober Company, and leading a more reform'd Life than *the* Murder before; but he continued the same rakish Courses for *der* of some Years after, and was on the 29th of *August* 1699. *Captain* try'd a second time for his Life in *Westminster-Hall* *Coot* 1699. by his Peers, for the Murder of one *Captain Coot* in *Leicester-fields*: The Earl of *Warwick* and *Holland* was found guilty of Manlaughter, but my Lord *Mohun* was unanimously acquitted by all his Peers, his Lordship being so far from having any Hand in that barbarous Fact, that he used some Endeavours to prevent it. My Lord *Somers*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, was



*The Peers* Lord High Steward upon that solemn Occasion, and  
*Names* the Peers that try'd my Lord Mobun were these; the  
*that try'd* Lords Barnard, Herbert; *Weston, Alburnham, Chol-*  
*mondeley, Jeffreys, Godolpin, Guilford, Osulston,*  
*and ac-* Craven, Cornwallis, Granville, Berkley, Lexington,  
*quitted* Rockingham, Lucas, Colepepper, Byron, Fermyn, Leigh,  
*him.* Rely, Howard, Lovelace, Hunsdon, Wharton, Eyre;  
 Dudley, Fitzwalter, Willoughby, Audley, Abergavenny;

the Lords Viscount Lonsdale and Townsend; the Earls  
 of Grantham, Albemarle, Tankerville, Warrington,  
 Scarborough, Montague, Portland, Rochester, Notting-  
 ham, Yarmouth, Radnor, Macclesfield, Feversham,  
 Burlington, Carlisle, Bath, Anglesea, Essex, Scarsdale,  
 Thanet, Chesterfield, Carnarvon, Kingston, Winchelsea,  
 Stamford, Peterborough, Rivers, Manchester, Denbigh,  
 Leicester, Bridgewater, Dorset, Suffolk, Huntington;  
 Derby, Kent and Sunderland, Lord Chamberlain of  
 the Household; the Marquesses of Normandy and Hal-  
 lifax; the Dukes of Newcastle, Schomberg, St. Albans,  
 Northumberland, Ormond, Southampton, Richmond,  
 Somerset; Duke of Devonshire Lord Steward, Earl of  
 Pembroke Lord President, and Lord High Steward, the  
 Lord Somers.

My Lord Mobun hereupon being brought to the Bar,  
 and acquainted by the Lord High Steward, that all their  
 Lordships were unanimously of Opinion, that he was  
 neither guilty of the Felony nor Murder whereof he  
 stood indicted; his Lordship thereupon made his Reve-  
 rence to the Court, and express'd himself thus;

My Lords,

*His Speech*  
*to the*  
*Court.*

I do not know which way to express my great  
 'Thankfulness and Acknowledgment of your Lordships  
 'great Honour and Justice to me; but I crave leave to  
 'assure your Lordships, that I will endeavour to make  
 'it the business of the future part of my Life, so to  
 'behave my self in my Conversation in the World, as  
 'to avoid all things that may bring me under any such  
 'Circumstances as may expose me to the giving your  
 'Lordships any Trouble of this Nature for the future:  
 And then making his Reverences to the Lords, he went  
 away from the Bar.

Some

Some People were so sanguine as to affirm, that in case my Lord *Mohun* had killed Duke *Hamilton*, and lived to be try'd, he would have been Condemn'd, and lost his Head for it, which could not be, if they found him guilty only of Manſlaughter, as 'tis very probable, and in that Case he would have had the Benefit of the Statute of *Edward VI.* which is allowed a Peer once and no more.

His Lordship, after this second Misfortune, began wonderfully to reclaim, and what by his Reading and Conversation with the ableſt Stateſmen, ſo well improv'd his Natural Parts that he became a great Ornament to the Peerage, and a ſtrenuous Aſſertor of Liberty, and the late Revolution : Its true, he ſtill loved a merry Glaſs of Wine with his Friends, but he was exemplarily Temperate when he had any buſineſs of Moment to attend.

His Maſteſty King *William III.* after the untimely Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, having procur'd an Act of Parliament to paſs in favour of the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover* to this Kingdom, and having pitch'd upon the late Earl of *Maccleſfield* to go and carry the Act to that Court in 1701; among others he was accompanied by my Lord *Mohun*, who was his Relation by Marriage, in his Voyage. He behaved himſelf there with ſo much Diſcretion, that he became generally acceptable to that illuſtrious Family, and all that con- verſed with him; none of the Company liv'd with greater Sobriety, or deliver'd himſelf on all Occaſions with better Judgment, or in politer Language.

My Lord *Mohun*, after his return from *Hanover*, continuing to improve himſelf in thoſe good Qualifications that were proper for Men of his Dignity, about the end of the Year 1702. was appointed to be one of the Managers of the Houſe of Lords, at a Conference with the Commons about the Occaſional Conformity Bill then on foot, and for which the Commons were very warm, but they could not carry it.

But before this happen'd, his Uncle in Law Earl of *Maccleſfield* departing this Life without Iſſue, he Conſtituted the Lord *Mohun*, in Conſideration of the Affection and Value he had for his Lordſhip, his ſole Heir; ſo he took Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, except that

that part which the Earl left to his Brother *Fitzon*, who succeeded him in the Honour, and who dying also in a short time without Issue, the whole Estate of the *Macclesfield* Family, to the value of about 4000 *l. per An.* fell to his Lordship.

*Electer of Hanover's Proxy 1703.* On the 11th of *March* following, his most Serene Highness *George Lewis*, Elector of *Hanover*, *Wriestlesly* Duke of *Bedford*, and *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, Knights Companions elect of the most noble Order of the Garter, being to be installed in *St. George's Chappel* at *Windfor*; his Electoral Highness, in Consideration of the Esteem he had for my Lord *Mobun*, was pleased to appoint him to be his Proxy on that solemn Occasion.

The Commons, not discourag'd with having lost their first Bill against Occasional Conformity, my Lord *Mobun*, who was now grown very Conspicuous for his Parts and Affection to the Protestant Succession, was a very strenuous Opposer of it in the House of Peers, and in the Debate there, among other things did not stick to say, *That if they pass'd that Bill, they had as good sack the pretended Prince of Wales to it*; Expressions that some People never forgave him, but even persecuted him for it after his Death.

*His Speech about the 2<sup>d</sup> Occasional Bill.* What Military Commands the Lord *Mobun* went thro' with the distinct Periods of them, I cannot exactly account for; I know he was Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, for some time, as I take it, upon the *Irish* Establishment, and since Commanded by Colonel *Dormer*; but I do not remember his Lordship made any Campaigns with it.

*Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.*

This noble Lord was a strenuous opposer of *Dr. Sacheverell* and his Doctrine, shewing himself very warm on that Occasion, as supposing the Revolution to be entirely struck at, and consequently the whole Fabrick built upon it; but I shall wave that Affair, and proceed towards the last Scene of his Lordship's Life which was much more unhappy than I could wish him and his illustrious Adversary. We have observed before in the Life of the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Rise and Progress of the Law Suit between him and the Lord *Mobun*; how the Cause being near a Determination, their Lordships on the 11th of *November* had a Meeting at *Mr. Orlebar's* Chamber, a Master in *Chancery* at the Rolls, when every thing

thing passed very civilly and quietly ; but on the 13th *Mess* upon the Examination of Mr. *Whitworth*, who for many *Duke* Years had been Steward to the Lady *Gerrard* of the *milton* at *Macclesfield* Family, a Man of 'an unblemish'd Reputation, the Duke having said, *He had neither Truth nor labor's Justice in him*; the Lord *Mohun* thought himself oblig'd to vindicate Mr. *Whitworth's* Character, by saying, *He had as much Truth as his Grace*. However, every thing seem'd to end amicably ; and the Council having agreed upon another Meeting with their Lordships the *Saturday* following, the fatal Day wherein the Tragedy was acted ; at Parting, the Duke going out at first, made a low Bow to the Lord *Mohun*, who in like Manner answer'd his Grace's Civility, so that the rest of the Company, to the number of eleven Persons, did not suspect any ill Consequence from what had passed between the two Peers. As to the Person who gave the first Affront, it's not difficult, you see, to pitch upon him ; it's not so easie to decide who sent the Challenge, tho' if we judge of things by their best Appearances, we must fix that on my Lord *Mohun* : But to let pass these Matters, when they came to engage they fought like enrag'd Lyons, the Lord *Mohun* was the first that fell, and died, indeed upon the spot : His Body being carried to his House in *Marlborough-street*, Mr. *la Fage*, an eminent Surgeon, *An Acc* after the Coroner had sat upon it, examin'd the Wounds, *count of his wounds* and 1. There was one on the Right Side, near the short Ribs, penetrating into the Abdomen, and piercing into the *Epiploen*, the Gut Ileon, the Mesentery in two Places, close to the said Gut, and going out by the Ileon-Bone, on the Left Side ; which Wound would undoubtedly have proved mortal, tho' not immediately. 2. Another Wound on the Left Side, about six Inches distant from the other backwards, and about three Inches long, but not penetrating. 3. A third Wound on the superior and interior Part of the Left Thigh, about an Inch broad and two Inches deep. 4. A large Wound \* in the Inguen or Groin, on the Left Side, four Inches broad, going down thro' the great Vessels of the Thigh, and coming out under the Buttock, which was the cause of his Lordship's immediate Death : He had also two or three Fingers of his Left Hand cut.

My

\* The Surgeon put his Hands into the opposite Sides of the Wound, and his Hands met,

*Marriages.*

My Lord *Mobun* had been twice married, his first Wife was *Charlotte Manwaring*, a Niece of the late Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, Earl of *Macclesfield*, by his Sister the Lady *Charlotte*, first married to ——— *Manwaring*, of *Cheeshire*, Esq; afterwards to Sir *Charles Orby* of *Lincolnshire*: After her decease he married a second time *Elizabeth*, the Widow and Relict of Colonel *Edward Griffith*, one of the Clerks Comptrollers, but by her he had no Issue.

*His Will.*

It was a very current, tho' false Report, that my Lord *Mobun* made his Will at the *Bagnio* in *Long Acre*, the Night before he engag'd in a Duel with Duke *Hamilton*; for it seems he had made it long before, viz. on the 23d of *March* 1710, whereby he Constituted his Wife *Elizabeth* aforementioned, his sole Heir and Executrix, leaving only a Legacy of 1000 *l.* to his reputed Daughter by his first Wife, whose Conduct was none of the most exemplary, and 100 *l.* to *Jeremiah Thompson*, Esq; during his natural Life: The Barony died with his Lordship, there being no near Heir Male to keep it up.





# M E M O I R S

O F

*Arthur Manwaring, Esq;*



**A**RTHUR Manwaring, Esq; was the Son——Manwaring, Esq; of His Birth Ighfield in the County of Salop, but and Edu- residing chiefly at Chertsey in Surrey, cation, where he was possess'd of a very good Estate. The Grandfather of this Arthur was Sir Arthur Manwaring a great Favourite of Henry Prince of Wales; his Son Mr——Maynwaring, was a Gentleman of excellent Parts and Qualities, but withal so negligent of his Fortune, that instead of improving it he left his Son involved in inextricable Difficulties, insomuch that his Mother intended to have him bred up to the Law. Accordingly having put him to the Grammar School, and three or four Years at —— College in Oxford, he was enter'd at the Temple, and studied the Law, living with his Mother at her House in Essex-street: He made a good Proficiency in that Study, early distinguish'd himself by his Wit and Judgment in all Literature, and dividing his time between Pleasure and Learning, he soon rendred his Conversation agreeable and desirable to the most Amiable and most Worthy of both Sexes.

It

*Not com-  
pliable to  
the Go-  
vernment.* It was his Misfortune in his younger Years to have been corrupted in his Politicks by the Example of an Uncle——— *Manwaring*, Esq; from whom he had some small Expectations, and who being a Male-content since the Revolution, endeavour'd to instil the same Principles into his Nephew : His dangerous Lessons had so ill an Effect, that the young Gentleman imbib'd some Notions of Government, which he was afterwards ashamed of, and renounc'd with great Abhorrence, becoming as good an *Englishman* as any in the Kingdom, and that during the Life time of his Uncle.

*Reconciled  
to it.* While he was under his Influence he wrote several little Poems and Papers, reflecting on some Men in Power, and sometimes on the Government it self; his Papers and Poems were very well lik'd by every Body for their Wit and Turn, no Man having a better Cast of both than himself, when he pleas'd to exert it; but his natural Modesty hinder'd his advancing himself, as much as his Delinquency for several Years. Wit was ever on the Side of Liberty, and Mr. *Manwaring* who was ever on the Side of Wit, could not long converse with Men of Sense and Learning without correcting the Errors of his Politicks, and being converted from his State Heresie. This was some Years before he came into the Acquaintance of those great Lords who had it as much in their Power as in their Will to make his Fortune.

He drank pretty freely in his younger Years, and with Men of the greatest sociable Merit; it would be an Honour to his Company to Name them, as highly as they have been otherwise honour'd by Offices and Titles: But I shall forbear it, having not consulted them about it, and they being most of them living. I shall only observe, that my Lord *Dorset* hearing much talk of Mr. *Manwaring's* Learning, Wit and Humour, was mighty desirous to be acquainted with him, and spoke to some who knew him, to engage him to come to dine with him, which Mr. *Manwaring* promis'd to do; but afterwards remembering he had reflected a little on his Lordship in some of his first State Satyrs, he had not Assurance enough to encounter his Reproach, and avoided going, sending an affected Excuse, which made my Lord *Dorset* for some time look on him as a  
Man

Man who had neglected the Honour of his Friendship.

Upon the Conclusion of the Peace of *Ryswick* he made a *Tour* into *France*, and staid a while at *Paris*, *Goes into France.* where he came into the Acquaintance of Monsieur *Boileau*, who was so pleas'd with his Company, that he invited him to his Country House three or four Miles from the City, and entertain'd him as a Gentleman and a Critick, with Poetry and good Cheer. Soon after his Return to *England* it was propos'd to him, by a noble Lord now living, to accept, of a considerable Post in the Revenue, and he having been oblig'd to sell his Estate to pay off a Mortgage *Dr. Radcliffe* had upon it; whatever was his Indifference for Money, which he despis'd, he thought it convenient to take hold of so fair an Opportunity to make himself easie: Being *Commissioner of the Customs.* one of the Commissioners of the Customs, he who had the quickest Genius in the World, was Master of the Business immediately. He apply'd himself to Figures, and in a short time had the Reputation of the most able Commissioner at the Board. He continued in that Post till he remov'd to the Auditors Office, on the Resignation of Mr. *Bridges*, for which he had some thousands of Pounds, paid by the then Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*, out of his own Pocket; Mr. *Manwaring* not knowing of his Lordship's Intentions to lay so *made Au-* weighty an Obligation upon him, till after it was all *done.* done, and he had nothing to do but to take Possession: An Accident introduc'd him at first into his Lordship's Acquaintance; there was a Poem written in the beginning of this Reign, call'd, *The Golden Age Return'd*, the Author of which, as were all the greatest Wits in *England*, was one of Mr. *Manwaring's* Friends, and he Communicated it to him before it stole into the World. 'Twas reported Mr. *Manwaring* wrote it, and it being against some of the then *Tories*, who have since shewn themselves to be as good *Englishmen* as some of the *Whigs* have shewn themselves to be good *Frenchmen*, it gave some Offence: 'Twas said Mr. *Manwaring* would be turn'd out of his Place upon it: He hearing of it, went directly to the Lord Treasurer, confess'd the seeing of the Poem, but disown'd the writing it with so much Gallantry and Frank-



Member  
of Parlia-  
ment.

nels, that Mr. *Manwaring* telling his Lordship he had heard he had resolv'd to dismiss him the Board for it: My Lord reply'd, *Sir, you may depend upon it, that as long as I am in this Post, so long you shall, if you please, be in that, if we can't find a better for you;* Which was done a few Months after; and from that time my Lord *Godolphin* enter'd into the most strict Friendship with him. Mr. *Manwaring* also began to form his Head to Politicks; he was chosen Member of Parliament for *Preston* in *Lancashire* in two Parliaments. Being now admitted into the most intimate Converse with the greatest Persons of both Sexes in the Kingdom, he acquir'd their favour, which he made use of to serve such Gentlemen as were Recommended to him by their Merit and Misfortunes. It was to him a Poet owes the Place that has ever since been his Subsistence; and another his Deliverance from a Disgrace which would have been a Dishonour to the whole Nation, he being in the utmost Peril of the Pillory for writing in defence of those that were for inviting over the Princess *Sophia*.

His VVri-  
tings.

It would be endless to tell all the Acts of Humanity and Generosity which adorn'd Mr. *Manwaring's* Life, and to speak of his Poems and other Writings, which were very numerous, especially when upon the Fall of his illustrious Friend the Duke of *Marlborough*, he labour'd Night and Day to vindicate him against the Malice and Rage of his Enemies. It was to this End that the Weekly Paper call'd the *Medley* came out under his Protection, himself writing it sometimes, and always revising it before it went to the Press. It was he who Corrected and Improved the four famous Letters known by the Title of the *Management of the VVar*; as also the four Parts of the Answer to the *Conduct of the Allies*: Many other Political Tracts were written by him; in a word, the last Years of his Life were spent in that grateful Work, the Vindication of his two great Friends the Duke of *Marlborough* and my Lord *Godolphin*, with whom he was frequently at his Retirement at *St. Albans*, shewing a generous Disdain for those that could be guilty of Ingratitude to such unparallel'd Merit: He fatigu'd himself so much in this honourable Service, that it prejudic'd his Health, and

so far the fury of Faction against the greatest Men of our Nation moved him, that his Repentment touch'd his Spirits, and his Labours so weaken'd him, that he in a manner lost the use of that lively Imagination and Discernment which render'd him the Delight of his Friends, and the Terror of his Enemies : He lay ill about four Months before he dy'd.

I should have enlarg'd on the Circumstances both of his Life and Death, but that I understood a Friend of his and mine is Collecting *Memoirs* to write it at large, and so print in with several Poems, and other little Pieces of his, and a particular Account of all his Writings, with the occasion of his writing them. He was in a Consumption, and Malice injur'd him with worse Insinuations, but when he was dead and open'd 'twas found that his Body was as sound as his Judgment : He left a Natural Son by Mrs. Oldfield the famous Comedian, whom he lov'd with a dear and generous Passion, leaving her most of what he had to leave, which was not a great deal ; he having an expensive Family for the sake of his Sister, having paid many Thousand Pounds of Debts for his Father, and the time he had been in the Office of Auditor of the Imprest which he kept at *White-hall*, not being sufficient to clear all, and to raise himself a Fortune : He dy'd in November 1712, in the 46th Year of his Age.

*Sickness  
and Death*

**F I N I S.**















